



# New Amazigh Grammar

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Translated by  
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CAL – IRCAM

2023





الْمَعَهْدُ الرَّาْبُوُنِيُّ لِلتَّفَاصِيلِ مَازِيجِيَّةٍ  
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INSTITUT ROYAL DE LA CULTURE AMAZIGHE

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## Abbreviations

( )	: variant or optional element
/	: or
[ ]	: phonetic realization or pronunciation
<	: is derived from
=	: is equivalent to
>	: brings about
→	: is pronounced, generates
c	: consonant
caus.	: causative
cf.	: confer
Comp	: complement
CS	: Construct State
dir.	: direct
DO	: Direct Object
emph.	: emphatic
fem.	: feminine
FS	: Free State
indir.	: indirect
IO	: Indirect Object
masc.	: masculine
neg.	: negative
NP	: Noun Phrase
Ø	: nothing
obj.	: object
p.	: page
Part.	: particle
pass.	: passive
pers.	: person
plr.	: plural

PP : Prepositional Phrase

pron. : pronoun

recip. : reciprocal

S : subject

sing. : singular

V : verb

v : vowel

vs. : versus

## Preface

The process of progressively standardizing the Amazigh language (Berber) may well be viewed to be one of the central goals meant to be achieved by The Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM). In fact, huge efforts have been invested to achieve this goal, and important progress has been attained in this domain ever since the founding of IRCAM. Parallel to the standardization of the Amazigh language, another concomitant workshop which concerns the teaching of the Amazigh language has been underway since 2003. Nowadays, the language is taught at different Moroccan primary schools, the central thrust being to generalize its teaching both vertically (yearly progression from one level to another) and horizontally (extension to new schools).

Further to training trainers in Amazigh, teaching Amazigh means also the elaboration of tools and educational support, and making these tools available to pupils and teachers. This grammar book may well be viewed as one among the basic tools which are indispensable for any pedagogical activity, and without which a language could in no way be adequately taught at school.

Devising a grammar for a language is not something easy. Admittedly, any language, whether it is written or spoken only, has its own grammar, explicit in the first case and simply implicit in the second. It is, therefore, the task of grammarians to make the rules of the language more explicit.

Over the last two centuries at least, many Amazigh grammar works have been elaborated. Importantly, these works exhibit a lot of variation from the standpoint of conception, methodology, approach and presentation. This variation is ascribed to a broad range of reasons; foremost among which are the objectives meant to be achieved and the audience for which these works were intended. Under close scrutiny, all these works serve one common end at least, i.e. exhibiting the fundamentals of the Amazigh language which are shared between all Amazigh varieties no matter how diverse they are. The last three decades have further seen the emergence of a number of studies and works of research bearing on a broad range of Amazigh grammar aspects; these studies have been driven by a variety of theoretical modern linguistic underpinnings.

Paramount among the fundamental characteristics that distinguish the work undertaken, so far, on Amazigh grammar is the fact that it draws heavily on one language variety or, in the best scenario, on a dialect encompassing a composite of other neighbour lects.

This work is meant to be general; its main objective is to set out the functioning of the Amazigh language by paying special attention to the aspects that exhibit its unity. It is not, thereby, meant to lay out the grammar of a particular Amazigh variety but the grammar of Moroccan Amazigh grammar in its entirety, although it is not always an easy goal to be achieved. It is also worthwhile to contend that this work is construed to be part of a larger project meant to standardize the Amazigh language; a project which is still underway and whose central thrust is to equip the language with the necessary reference dictionary and grammar as well as standardize the grammatical and lexical uses of the language. An Amazigh writing system along with a whole range of graphic and spelling norms have already been settled and are under use in the textbooks dubbed **ⵜⵉⴼⴰⵡⵉⵏ ⴰ ⴰⵎⴰⵣⵉⵢⵜ** [tifawin a tamaziyt] carried out by IRCAM in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education, Higher Teaching, Scientific Research and Executives' Training.

Proceeding to the elaboration of a grammar shared between all Amazigh varieties is beset by many insuperable problems. In fact, the main problem that befalls any linguist working on the unification of Amazigh grammar is variation itself. Notwithstanding the variation problem exhibited by the different Amazigh varieties, it goes without saying that the composite of various works undertaken on Amazigh grammar show that the unity of the Amazigh language is a categorical reality. The idea has been defended since early in the previous century, and it is at the morpho-syntactic level that such unity is more readily observed. Variation is also a categorical reality in Amazigh, and an adequate approach based on valid principles is essentially necessitated. This is why resort was made to the following principles:

- Targeting the unity of the language: the tools and morphemes that are retained are common to the different varieties;
- Trying to safeguard the richness of the language at the grammatical and structural levels. The same idea may well be expressed along various grammatical and lexical means. This explains the presence of a whole range of morphemes to express the same grammatical phenomenon (interrogation,

negation, topicalization, time, etc.). As an example, a yes / no question may well be asked by using either  $\Sigma\Theta$  / is or  $\Sigma\circ$  / ma.

- Trying to leave some room to variation: variation is a source of linguistic richness, and can serve stylistic ends. Long term use of some forms may well establish particular semantic and linguistic usages.

This work is intended primarily for teachers, because it is conceived as an accompanying tool for teaching Amazigh in Moroccan schools. It is also intended for any person who is interested in Amazigh learning. This is why the presentation of its different elements follows an approach that proceeds from what is simple to what is more complex; the different grammatical components are also ordered along a pedagogical ranking: sounds and phonemes come first followed by the writing system, morphology and syntax. In each chapter, the same presentation procedure is adopted. The inventory of grammatical tools is set out in the first place, and then their morpho-syntactic attributes follows and finally their classification is provided when applicable.

Examples are of paramount importance in a grammar, irrespective of the nature and objective of such grammar. It is the range of examples provided that illustrate a grammatical rule. This explains why their choice is not always easy. With the principles provided above as well as the pedagogical objectives of this grammar work as background, the supplied examples fall, in large part, under the rubric of common Amazigh. When variation is relevant, a composite of various examples are provided to illustrate the same grammatical phenomenon while paying equal attention to lexical variation. The central thrust behind resorting to such measures is to sensitize readers to the richness of the language at different levels.

This grammar is meant to be a pedagogical grammar and not a work of research. A researcher may, nonetheless, find relevant Amazigh grammar-related information in it.

We have also invested lots of efforts in making this grammar as easy and clear as possible. This is why we have resorted to common terminology, of most concern here the terminology used in the Amazigh tradition at the colonial and post-colonial eras. And any terminological units that have specific meanings in particular linguistic theories have been largely sidestepped to avoid any confusion for the readers.

By making this grammar available to teachers and to the people interested in learning the Amazigh language, it is our hope that we have contributed in filling a linguistic gap by providing a milestone grammatical tool for teaching standard Amazigh.

Many thanks are due to El. Iazzi, M. Ameur, R. Laabdelaoui, N. El Azrak and A. Bouhjar for having contributed in a way or in another in the implementation of this work.

*The authors*

# **CHAPTER 1**

## **Standard Amazigh phonemes<sup>1</sup>**

### **1. Introduction**

To transcribe the sounds of a language, we generally have recourse to two types of transcription: *phonetic transcription* and *phonological transcription*. Phonetic transcription may well be viewed as a way of rendering all the phonetic details of a sound or sequence of sounds in a faithful way to their actual pronunciation. Put in another way, the transcription is a narrow one. As for the transcription termed *phonological*, it is a broad transcription meant to render only the prime phonetic features essential for understanding the meaning of a word without paying any attention whatsoever to the phonetic details.

The transcription adopted in this work is phonological. Such transcription derives much of its appeal from its ability to capture the common features observed between different Amazigh varieties.

This chapter tries to give a handle on three points: (i) a presentation of the inventory of segments pertaining to the standard Amazigh phonological system (as construed in IRCAM), (ii) the criteria underlying the choice of Amazigh phonemes, (iii) the whole range of phonetic processes that are neutralised at the orthographic level.

#### **1.1. Phoneme inventory**

The phonological system recognises 33 phonemes:

- 27 consonants:

- labials: **Χ / f, Θ / b, Κ / m;**
- dentals: **† / t, Λ / d, Ε / t̪, Ε / d̪, Ι / n, Ο / r, Κ / r̪, Ή / l;**

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1- A sincere thank you to Mustapha Sghir and Youcef Hdouch for their diligent proofreading of this work.

- alveolars: ⵂ / s, ⵄ / z, ⵃ / ʂ, ⵅ / ʐ;
  - (alveo)palatals: ⵄ / c, ⵈ / j;
  - velars: ⵏ / k, ⵑ / g;
  - labiovelars: ⵏʷ / kʷ, ⵑʷ / gʷ;
  - uvulars: ⵍ / q, ⵂ / x, ⵉ / ɣ;
  - pharyngeals: ⵎ / ħ, ⵏ / ε;
  - laryngeals: ⵟ / h.
- 2 semi-consonants: ⵢ / y, ⵔ / w.
- 3 full vowels: ⵦ / a, ⵪ / i, ⵫ / u.
- 1 neutral vowel: ⵧ / e.

*Table 1: The consonantal system of standard Amazigh<sup>2</sup>*

Point of articulation														
			Manner of articulation											
		Non-emph.	Voiceless	+										
Occlusives		Voiced	Θ	Λ										
		Emph.	Voiceless	ᴱ										
Fricatives	Non-emph.	Voiceless	Χ		Θ	₵					X	Χ		
		Voiced			ꝝ	I					ꝝ	ꝝ		
	Emph.	Voiceless			ꝝ	ꝝ								
		Voiced												
Nasals			匱	I										
Rhotics	Non-emphatics			ꝝ										
	Emphatics			ꝝ										
Laterals				ꝝ										
Semi-consonants			ꝝ											

2- See Ameur, M. et al (2004), p. 16.

**Table 2: The Vocalic system of standard Amazigh**

Manner of articulation \ Point of articulation	Back	Front
High	: (u)	ξ (i)
Low	◦ (e)	◦ (a)

Contrary to the vowels ◦ / a, : / u and ξ / i whose phonemic status is a categorical reality, the vowel ◦ / e, usually termed ‘the neutral vowel’<sup>3</sup>, stands out as a special vowel, in the sense that it functions as a phonetic unit whose absence affects in no way the meaning of the word.

The graphic system adopted herein, though not strictly phonological, has a phonological tendency. The neutral vowel, accordingly, appears only when its presence is fundamentally necessitated (*cf.* 2.2), namely in the following contexts:

- To foil the attempt to create a sequence of more than two identical consonants – a cluster usually difficult to articulate.

* ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / * tttr “she asked for”	⇒ ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / tetr
* ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / * mmmis “his son”	⇒ ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / memmis
* ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / * dmmm “to beg”	⇒ ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / dmmem
* ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / * zmmm “to write, to record”	⇒ ⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / zmmem

- In some verb stems containing two identical segments.

⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / mlel	“ to be white”
⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / lyeey	“ to be soft, tender”
⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / snen	“ to cook”

3- It is also termed schwa, “silent” e, zero vowel or null vowel.

## **1.2. The criteria adopted in the elaboration of the alphabet**

Along the course of developing the alphabet of Tifinaghe-IRCAM, a composite of various criteria have been taken into account. Foremost among these criteria is the fact that the selection of the alphabet was phonology-based. A set of other criteria that were taken into consideration are laid out as follows:

- Univocity of the sign: Along this criterion, a one-to-one relationship is observed between the grapheme and the sound it refers to. This relationship foils the attempt to create diagraphs (such as ch [ʃ] or ph [f] in French).
- Geography extension: Only distinctive oppositions common to the three varieties are taken into consideration and retained. When an opposition is observed in some few Amazigh varieties, it is not retained.
- Functional productivity: Along this principle, only productive phonemic oppositions are retained. Put more clearly, an isolated minimal pair<sup>4</sup> is entirely rejected and its opposing units are denied any functional distinctive status (the case of non-emphatic I [j] opposed to emphatic I [ʃ]).
- The neutralisation of linguistic variation: Irrelevant phonetic dialectal variation is not retained in the phonological system. Conversely, the same variation is freely tolerated in oral production.

## **1.3. Non-retained phonetic units**

With the afore-mentioned criteria as background, the decision to abandon some phonetic units becomes sorely needed. Accordingly, some phonetic units that are either less productive or that ensue from regional variation are not retained in the graphic system.

### ***1.3.1. Spirants***

Spirantisation is one of the most prominent phonological processes that operate in Amazigh. The central thrust of this process is to alter stops into spirants. Under spirantisation, bilabial Θ / b, dental Τ / t and Λ / d coupled with velar Κ / k and Χ / g shift into their corresponding spirant forms (Θ / b > Φ / β,

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4- From the standpoint of structural phonology, a minimal pair refers to two words that are identical in all phonemes except one, for instance ةِيَمْ / izm “lion”- ةِيلْ / ilm “skin”.

**† / t > X / θ, Λ / d > V / δ, K / k > K / ç, C / c** and **X / g > X / j, S / y, I / j**). The spirant forms of the above occlusive consonants are viewed as their regional variants. The exchange of stops with their corresponding spirant forms brings about no change in word meaning. Accordingly, the words **⊕ΟΞV / aþrið, X.ΛΥ.OX / əamyarθ, ΛΘΞ / açsum, OX.X / arjaz** will be written respectively as **⊖ΟΞΛ / abrid “way”, ⊕ΛΥ.O† / tamyart “woman”, ⊖ΚΘΞ / aksum “meat”** and **⊖ΟΞ.X / argaz “man”**.

The phonetic evolution of the velar sounds **K / k** and **X / g** has known many stages: first, spirantisation (**K / ç, X / j**) and then palatalization (**C / c, I / j, S / y**).

**K / k → K / ç<sup>5</sup> → C / c: ⊖ΚΙ.Η / aknaf → ⊖ΚΙ.Η / açnaf → ⊖CΙ.Η / acnaf “roasting”**

**X / g → X / j → S / y: ⊖ΧΞ.Ο / agmar → ⊖ΧΞ.Ο / ajmar → ⊖SΞ.Ο / aymar “horse”**

**X / g → X / j → I / j: ⊖ΧΟ+ΞΗ / agrtil → ⊖ΧΟ+ΞΗ / ajtil → ⊖ΙΟ+ΞΗ / ajtil “mat”**

No matter how the two phonemes **K / k** and **X / g** are realized, it is always the occlusive form that is retained at the writing level as an *archigrapheme* (main grapheme).

The only pertinent opposition that obtains between stops and fricatives in some Amazigh varieties is morpho-phonological in nature. This opposition is observed in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular direct object pronoun. The pronoun surfaces in two different ways: it surfaces as **† / t** in the feminine form and as **X / θ** in the masculine form.

**⊖ΗΣΥ† / syiy t** “I bought it (fem.).”

**⊖ΗΣΥX / syiy θ** “I bought it (masc.).”

This morphological opposition is resolved in the graphic form by using **† / t** for the masculine form and **†† / tt** for the feminine form.

**⊖ΗΣΥ†† / syiy tt** “I bought it (fem.).”

**⊖ΗΣΥ† / syiy t** “I bought it (masc.).”

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5- See the extended Tifinagh Alphabet in *Graphie et orthographe de l'amazighe* (2006), p. 160.

### 1.3.2. Affricates

This category of sounds may ensue from phonological alteration as evinced below:

▮▮ / ll → △I / dj: Σ▮▮Σ / illi “my daughter” → [Σ△IΣ / idji]

▮t / lt → +C / tc: Φ▮tC. / ultma “my sister” → [Φ+CC. / utcma]

At the graphic level, basic non-affricate underlying forms are preserved to guarantee a maximum of morphological transparency of language units. Affricates are used in writing only if a significant opposition holds between the two units – the affricate and the non-affricate.

◦ΑΙΙ.□ / ahjjam “hairdresser” vs. ◦ΑΛΙ.□ / ahdjam “tattooing”

ΦΣΙ / hij “to be agitated, bustling” vs. ΦΣΑΙ / hidj “poison, bitter dish”

### 1.3.3. Emphatics

The adopted alphabetical system includes basic emphatics: E / t̄, E / d̄, Q / ṭ, O / ṣ and \*

The rare cases where emphatic ▮ / l behaves as a phoneme are borrowings from Arabic or French. In the adopted graphic system, the coronal emphatic lateral consonant will be written as ▮ / l as in ▮▮.Φ / llah “God” and Θ▮▮. / bula “bulb”.

In some very few Amazigh varieties, emphatic I / j exhibits a minimal pair relationship with non-emphatic I / j. This opposition is illustrated in the following examples: II<sup>o</sup> / jju (without emphasis) means “to smell good” while II<sup>o</sup> / jju (with emphasis) means “to smell bad”.

Emphaticised ▮ / l and □ / m, on the one hand, and emphatic I / j, on the other, are not retained in the Amazigh graphic system.

#### **1.3.4. Labiovelars**

The two labiovelar consonants **K<sup>w</sup>** / k<sup>w</sup> and **X<sup>w</sup>** / g<sup>w</sup> are common in Amazigh; they pervade nearly all the lexicon of Amazigh and are, thereby, retained in the graphic system. Others, namely **X<sup>w</sup>** / x<sup>w</sup>, **H<sup>w</sup>** / y<sup>w</sup>, **Z<sup>w</sup>** / q<sup>w</sup> are admitted in some Amazigh varieties but function as regional variants only. This is why they are not taken into account and are rejected entirely from the graphic system.

#### **1.3.5. Sibilants**

We term “sibilance” the phonetic alteration along which t / t shifts into **Θ** / s and Λ / d into **Ɣ** / z.

**t.Θo** / tasa “liver” → [Θ.oΘo] / [sasa]

**ΛΛɛ** / udm “face” → [ɛ\*ΛΛɛ] / [uzm]

It is the basic occlusive forms that are retained in the graphic system. Hence, the two words above will be written as follows: **t.Θo** / tasa and **ΛΛɛ** / udm.

#### **1.3.6. Rhotacism**

Rhotacism may well be viewed as an alteration of lateral **W** / l into apical **O** / r.

**ΣWΘ** / ils “tongue” → [ΣOΘ] / [irs]

**.LΛ.W** / awal “speaking” → [.LΛ.O] / [awar]

Not unlike the former cases, the original basic form will be retained. The two words [**ΣOΘ**] / [irs] and [.LΛ.O] / [awar] will, therefore, be written as **ΣWΘ** / ils and **.LΛ.W** / awal respectively. Lateral **W** / l may also be mapped onto I / j ([.IΣɛ] / [ajim] “hay”, [.IΛɛ:] / [ajmu] “meadow, grassland”); yet, in writing, the basic lateral **W** / l will be adopted (**.Wɛɛ** / alim and **.WΛɛ:** / almu).

In broad terms, the abandoned consonants fall under one of the two categories: consonants with no functional productivity or consonants of narrow localized use.

As regards vowels, the adopted alphabet sidesteps long vowels ensuing from compensatory lengthening in particular contexts (**Y.O** / yar “at” → **Y.:** / [ya:]<sup>6</sup>), as well as the nasalization of final vowels and the dropping of stem-

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6- A colon after vowels indicates vowel lengthening.

initial vowels in nouns with initial open syllables (◦Ҳ:Θ / afus “hand” → Ҳ:Θ / fus).

## 1.4. Phonetic processes

In a spoken utterance, sounds are not a sequence of distinct discrete units. Sounds are usually affected by the phonetic units that precede and follow them. This influence triggers a whole range of phonetic alterations. In the remainder of this section, we shall try to get around some of these alterations, such as emphasis spreading and a number of other phonetic accidents.

### 1.4.1. Assimilation

Assimilation is a phonological process whereby two adjacent sounds influence each other. Below, we shall try to contend with the phenomenon of emphasis spreading as well as place and manner of articulation assimilation.

#### a. Emphasis spreading

In words, emphasis spreads from an emphatic consonant and contaminates adjacent consonants, which appear emphaticised. When such spreading holds, emphasis is realised phonetically in all nearby consonants. In the adopted writing system, the change is observed only on т / t, ʌ / d, Ө / s, Қ / z and Ң / r which shift to Е / t̥, Е / d̥, Ө / s̥, Қ / z̥ and Ң / r̥ respectively.

ЕҚӘ / izṛi “sight”

◦Е.Қ / aḍar “foot”

◦IҚ.Қ / anżar “rain”

#### b. Place and manner of articulation assimilations

##### ▪ Partial assimilation

Two sounds  $x$  and  $y$  are said to partially influence each other if one acquires some phonetic feature(s) from the other while some distinctive mismatch is still observed between the two sounds. Under this category of assimilation, point of articulation or manner of articulation features (voicing or voicelessness) are assimilated.

### *(i) Voice assimilation*

A voiceless consonant is realised as voiced when adjacent to a voiced consonant:

†**X**OΣ / tzri “she came around” → [Λ~~X~~OΣ] / [dzri]

### *(ii) Voicelessness assimilation*

A voiced consonant loses voicing if it abuts against a voiceless consonant.

†.C~~X~~Λ.Η† / tamzdayt “inhabitant” → [†.C~~X~~Λ.X†] / [tamzdaxt]

### *(iii) Point of articulation assimilation*

Under point of articulation assimilation, place of articulation is assimilated from one consonant to a contiguous consonant. A labial consonant, for instance, may become dental if it is adjacent to a dental consonant. A case in point is C / m which turns into l / n when adjacent to dental t / d:

†.C~~C~~Ξ† / tammemt “honey” → [†.C~~C~~l†] / [tammnt]

#### ▪ *Total assimilation*

Total assimilation leads to the assimilation of all x’s features from a nearby consonant y. Under total assimilation, the result is usually a collapse of the two sounds into a single geminate consonant.

### *(i) Identical consonants*

When a scenario holds where a consonant is directly followed by an identical consonant, the two identical consonants merge into a single tense consonant (a geminate).

- .Σ† †.ΛΛ.Ο† “the house owners” → [.Σ††.ΛΛ.Ο†] (†+†→††)

ayt taddart “the house owners” → [ayttaddart] (t+t→tt)

- I I.ΛΣ.ο “of Nadia” → [IΙ.ΛΣ.ο] (I+I→IΙ)

n nadya “of Nadia” → [nnadya] (n+n→nn)

- ΞΞΥΥ “I got out” → [ΞΞΞΥΥ] or [ΞΞΞΖΖ] (Υ+Υ→ΥΥ or ΖΖ)

ffyy “I got out” → [ffyy] or [ffqq] (y+y→yy or qq)

## *(ii) Different consonants*

When two different consonants happen to be adjacent to each other, assimilation may be progressive or regressive.

### ▪ *Regressive assimilation*

The sound receiving assimilation precedes the sound triggering assimilation:

- ئئئەلەت "They sat here." → [ئئەلەت] (t + Λ → ΛΛ)

qqimant da. "They sat here." → [qqimandda] (t + d → dd)

- ئىلۇن ئۆزۈم "one day" → [ئىلۇن ئۆزۈم] (l + u → uu)

ijj n was "one day" → [ijjwwass] (n + w → ww)

- ئەلەن كۈنىخىل "He went to Laayoune." → [ئەلەن كۈنىخىل]  
(O+ ھ → ھھ)

idda yr leyun. "He went to Laayoune." → [iddaylleyun] (r+ l → ll)

### ▪ *Progressive assimilation*

Under this sort of assimilation, the sound receiving assimilation follows the sound triggering assimilation:

- ھ + t → ھھ: ئەلەن كۈنىخىل "the white one" → [ئەلەن كۈنىخىل]

l + t → ll: tamllalt "the white one" → [tamllall]

- ئ + ئ → ئئئ: ئەلەن كۈنىخىل "in Azrou" → [ئەلەن كۈنىخىل]

g + u → gg<sup>w</sup>: g uzru "in Azrou" → [gg<sup>w</sup>zru]

## **1.4.2. Vowel clusters**

When two vowels, belonging to two different words, happen to be adjacent to each other, many phonetic alteration scenarios may hold: the resyllabification of high vowels, glide insertion or the collapsing of the two vowels into one vowel.

### *a. Resyllabification of the high vowels ئ / i and ئ / u*

In a vowel cluster, the high vowels ئ / i and ئ / u are realised phonetically as ئ / y and ئ / w.

Σ||. ΣΧΜ. / inna izlan. “He recited some poems.” → [Σ||.ΣΧΜ.] / [innayzlan]

ΣΜ. :ΘΕ. / illa uşmmid. “It is cold.” → [ΣΜ.�ΘΕ] / [illawşmmid]

ΣΛΛ. :ΙΘΞ. / idda unbgi. “The guest is gone.” → [ΣΛΛ.�ΙΘΞ] / [iddawnbgi]

### b. Glide insertion

The palatal semi-vowel Σ / y is inserted between two adjacent vowels to avoid hiatus:

ΣΧ. .ΑΣ. / iga ahuyud. “He is mad.” → [ΣΧ.Α.ΑΣ.] / [igayahyud]

Σ||. .Θ / inna as “he told him / her” → [Σ||.Α.Θ] / [innayas]

.Μ ΣΙ ! / a ul inu ! “Oh, my heart!” → [.Α.Μ ΣΙ!] / [ayulinu]

ΣΙΘΞ. Σ. / imnsi aya ! “What a dinner!” → [ΣΙΘΞ.Α.] / [imnsiyaya]

.ΜΞ. Α / almu ad “this grassland” → [.ΜΞ.Α] / [almuyad]

### c. Vowel deletion

In a scenario where the final vowel of a transitive verb is identical to the first vowel of a following indirect object pronoun, two possibilities open up: either a palatal glide Σ / y impinges to break the hiatus of the two identical vowels or the two vowels demote by collapsing into a single vowel.

Σ||. .Θ / inna as “he told him / her” → [Σ||.Θ] / [innas]

The alterations observed in vowel contact in spoken Amazigh do not obtain in writing. Put in another way, no vowel contraction or glide insertion is observed in writing.

### 1.4.3 Compensatory lengthening

Compensatory lengthening pervades a whole range of Amazigh varieties. The central thrust of compensatory lengthening is to compensate for the dropped liquid Ο / r in final and initial positions of the syllable.

◦ԸԿ◦Օ / amyar “chief, father-in-law”	→ [◦ԸԿ◦օ:] / [amya:]
◦ԿՈՅ◦Հ / ayrum “bread”	→ [◦ԿՈՅ◦Հ] / [ayru:m]

In writing, we reproduce the basic form of the rhotic liquid Օ / r in an unscathed fashion and no compensatory lengthening is observed.

## TIFINAGHE ALPHABET - ةِفِنَاجِهُ اَلْفَبِيِّنُ

	Tifinaghe	Latin	Arabic	examples
ya	◦	a	أ	◦أ◦أ◦
yab	Θ	b	ب	◦ث◦ث◦
yag	X	g	گ	◦خ◦خ◦
yag <sup>w</sup>	X <sup>w</sup>	g <sup>w</sup>	گ	◦خخخ◦خ
yad	Λ	d	د	◦ه◦ه◦
yad	E	đ	ض	◦ء◦ء◦
yey	়	e	-	ତିତିତ
yaf	়	f	ف	ହିହ
yak	ৼ	k	ك	କାକ
yak <sup>w</sup>	ৼ <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	ك	କଲକଲ
yah	ঠ	h	ه	ଫଲଫଲ
yah	়	h	ح	ଖଖଖ
yaε	়	ɛ	ع	ମଥମ
yax	X	x	خ	ତଖତ
yaq	়	q	ق	କାକ
yi	়	i	ي	ଇଇ
yaj	I	j	ج	ଇଇ
yal	়	l	ل	ଇଲି
yam	়	m	م	ଇଲ
yan	়	n	ن	ଇନି
yu	়	u	و	ଇଲ
yar	O	r	ر	ଇର
yar	়	r̄	ୱ	ଇରି
yay	়	়	غ	ଇରି
yas	়	s	س	ଇରି
yaş	়	ş	ص	ଇରି
yac	়	c	ش	ଇରି

7- Official Tifinaghe Alphabet Table as advocated by the Language Planning Centre (CAL), IRCAM.

yat	†	t	ت	†ةَوْتَوْ
yat̪	‡	†	ط	†خَيْخَ
yaw	□	w	و	وَلَوْلَ
yay	§	y	ي	يَسَاسَةَ
yaz	*	z	ز	زَلَّوْزَلَ
yaz̪	*	ž	ڙ	ڙِلَّوْڙَلَ

## CHAPTER 2

### Spelling rules

The spelling adopted in this book is based on two general principles supported by linguistic analysis. The first is the identification of the graphic word; the second is the segmentation of spoken utterances.

#### 1. Graphic word categories

A graphic word consists of a sequence of letters or merely of a single letter flanked by two typographical white spaces. The graphic word in Amazigh falls under one of these categories:

- A noun coupled with its obligatory markers of gender (◦+θεξօ / abdir (masc.) - +◦+θεξօ+ / tatbirt (fem.)), number (ξ+θεξօ! / itbirn (masc. plr.) - +ξ+θεξօξ! / titbirin (FS fem. plr.)) and state (◦+θεξօ / utbir (CS masc. sing.) - ++θεξօ+ / ttbirt (fem. sing)).

Contrarily, grammatical elements that specify nouns are graphically separated from them by a space.

◦θօξλ ◦ / abrid a	“this way”
◦θօξλ ξ  , ◦θօξλ .   / abrid inn, abrid ann	“that way”
◦θօξλ ΙΙΞ (  ◦ /   ξ / Λ◦) / abrid lli (nna / nni / da)	“the way in question”
◦θօξλ ΙΙ◎ / abrid nns	“his / her way”
Φ◦ΙΙ◦ ◦θօξλ / haqqa abrid	“This is the way.”

Kinship nouns, nonetheless, behave in a different fashion. Counter to other nouns, kinship nouns, along with their possessive pronoun, make up a single graphic word.

*Table 1: paradigm of pronouns affixed to kinship nouns*

Masculine		Feminine	
Sing.	Theta / baba	“my father”	Theta / baba
	Theta.K / babak	“your father”	Theta.L / babam
	Theta.O / babas	“his father”	Theta.O / babas
Plr.	Theta.tH / babatny	“our father”	Theta.tH / babatny
	Theta.tS(LC) / babatun (wm)	“your father”	Theta.tS(LC+) / babatunt (wmt)
	Theta.tOI / babatsn	“their father”	Theta.tOI / babatsnt

- A quality noun along with its morphological markers of:
  - gender (UO.H / awray (masc.) “yellow” - t.UO.H / tawrayt (fem.))
  - number (XUO.H / iwrayn (masc. plr.) - tXUO.HX / tiwrayin (fem. plr.))
  - state (:UO.H / uwray (CS masc. sing.) - tUO.H / twrayt (CS fem. sing)).
- A verb along with its:
  - person markers: :OΣH / usiy “I took”, t:OΣΛ / tusid “You took”, Σ:OΣ / yusi “He took”, l:OΣ / nusi “We took”
  - derivational morphemes:
    - o the causative morpheme: ΘΘ:ΗΗ / ssufy “to go out+ caus.”, ΘΘΚΣΕ / sskcm “to get in + caus.”, ΘΘΣΛΗ / ssidf “to get in + caus.”, ΘΘ:ΚΗ / ssukf “to uproot”;
    - o the reciprocal morpheme: ΕΣ:ΘΘο / myussan “to know + recip.”, ΕΘΣΗΣΕ / msifid “to send + recip. = to see off each other”, ttΕΣ.Η. / ttmyafa, “to find + recip. + passive”, ΕΧ.Ο.Σ / mzaray “to exceed + recip.”;
    - o the passive morpheme: tt:ΣΣΘΘΙ / ttuyissn “to know + passive”, ttU.ΚΚΘ / ttwakks “to remove + passive”, ttΣΣΚΚΘ / ttyikks “to remove + passive”.

- aspect markers:

- o Prefixed: **†+ԱԷ** / ttawi “to take”, **†+ԷԻ** / ttini “to say”
- o Infixed: **ԿԱՂԱԿ** / zddy “to dwell”, **ՕԹՈՒ** / ssay “to buy”, **ՕՐՈՇ** / skar “to do”, **ՔՐՈԿ** / krrz “to plow”

A typographical blank space holds between the verb and other potential grammatical elements that might precede or follow it, provided that the grammatical elements constitute themselves autonomous graphic words. Such grammatical elements are, among others, pronominal complements (pre-posed and post-posed) as well as aspect, orientation, negation and interrogation particles.

<b>ԸԱԽՎ ։Օ  + .</b> / mliy asn t.	“I have shown it to them.”
<b>ԸԱԽՎ †+ ՀԱ.</b> / iwin tt id.	“They have brought it.”
<b>։Օ և ՀԱԽՎ  .</b> / ur d ddint.	“They have not come.”
<b>։Օ †+ ՀԱ ԸԱԽՎ  .</b> / ur tnt id iwind.	“They have not brought them.”

▪ *The participle is considered as a graphic word along with:*

- its causative, reciprocal and passive derivational morphemes:

- o causative: **ՏՅԱՅՎ** / issufyn “getting out + caus.”, **ՏՅԱՅՎԵ** / isskcmn “getting in + caus.”, **ՏՅԱՅՎԵ** / issidfn “getting in + caus.”;
- o reciprocal: **ԵՅՅՈՅՎ** / myussanin “knowing + recip.”, **ԵՅՅՈՅՎ** / msawalnin “speaking + recip”;
- o passive: **ԷՒՅՅՈՅՎ** / ittyussnn “knowing + passive”, **ԷՒՅՅՈՐՎ** / ittwakksn “removing + passive”.

- its aspect markers:

- o prefixed: **ԷՒՅՅՈՅՎ** / ittawin “taking”, **ԷՒՅՅՈՅՎ** / ittinin “saying”;
- o infixated: **ԿԱՂԱԿՎ** / izddyn “dwelling”, **ՕԹՈՒՎ** / issayn “buying”, **ՕՐՈՇՎ** / iskarn “doing”.

- its markers of agreement in number:

- o **ՀԱՂՎ** / iddan - **ՂԱՂՎ** / ddanin “going”
- o **ՀԱՀՎ** / iffyn - **ՀՀՎ** / ffynin “going out”

▪ *Direct and indirect object pronouns:*

They are always written as separated units from the verbs they precede or follow:

✳QΣΨ +l. / zriy tn.	“I have seen them.”
:O +l. ✳QΣΨ. / ur tn zriy.	“I have not seen them.”
□ .Θ! / ml asn !	“Show them!”
.Λ .Θ! □Ψ. / ad asn mly.	“I will show them.”

▪ *Independent pronouns:*

İ+ +t. +Λ ✳QΣΨ. / nttat ad zriy. “It is she that I have seen.”

▪ *Proximity, remoteness and absence demonstratives:*

◦IIΣX .Λ / ajjig ad - ◦IIΣX . / ajjig a - ◦IIΣX : / ajjig u “this flower”

◦IIΣX .ll / ajjig ann - ◦IIΣX Σll / ajjig inn “that flower”

◦IIΣX ΗΗΣ / ajjig lli - ◦IIΣX ΗΗ / ajjig nni - ◦IIΣX Η. / ajjig nna “the flower in question”

▪ *The preposition:*

The preposition stands as a graphic word by itself. It is, thereby, separated from the noun it governs by a blank space.

Θ :E.Q / s uðar	“on foot / with the foot”
ΨΟ ΧΙΣΧΟ. / yr xnifra	“to Khenifra”
✳Σ ΣΣΕ.Q / zi miðar	“from Midar”
ΧΗ +l.ΚΟ. / xf tnakra	“on the mat”

Yet, when the preposition is followed by an objective pronoun, no blank space is tolerated between the two units. The preposition and the pronoun are conjoined into a single graphic word.

Ψ:ΟΘ / yurs	“at his / her house”
ΛΣΧΘ / digs	“in him / her”
Λ.ΟΣ / dari	“in my house, at home+”

▪ *Adverbs:*

Irrespective of its semantic value, the adverb stands as a single graphic word surrounded by two typographical blank spaces (අයි / dyi, සැලු / imal, අ / da, යැත් / zdat, ඔසා / ssa, මා / jaj, මැනි / mani, ...).

▪ *Interrogatives:*

සම තුවෙ? / is iyra ?	“Did he study?”
ශේ තහවු? / ma tffy ?	“Did she go out?”

▪ *Negative particles:*

ඩො එච්චී. / ur ddin.	“They (masc.) did not go.”
ඩො නැහැවු. / ur ffiynt.	“They (fem.) did not go out.”

▪ *Aspectuals:*

ඡුජු. තුපුව්. / aqqa sawaln.	“They are talking.”
අ. සම්මු සම්බුල. / da issay islman.	“He usually buys fish.”
අ. ප්‍රසී ප්‍රසී. / ad awin aman.	“They will bring water.”

▪ *Pre-posed and post-posed orientation particles (අ / d - ඩ / nn):*

ඩුස අ ! / awi d !	“Bring (here)!”
ඩුස ඩ ! / aw inn !	“Take (there)!”
ඩො අ සුසුස සැටුසුල. / ur d yiwi idrimn.	“He did not bring money.”
ඩො ඩ සුසුස සැටුසුල. / ur nn yiwi idrimn.	“He did not take money (there).”

▪ *The predicative particle අ / d:*

අ. ගැන්තුවා ! / d aşbhān !	“It is nice / beautiful!”
අ. උත්ත. / d nttat.	“It is her / she.”
ඩො අ. තෝසා. / ur d abrid a.	“Not this way.”
සම අ. යැකු? / is d azkka ?	“Is it tomorrow?”

▪ *Conjunctions (ලො / mr, ලුවා / mla, ලොවා / mara, සුරු / ig, සුවා / iŋ):*

ලො සම්බුල, සම අ සැටුසුල.

mr issin, is d idda.

“If he knew, he would come.”

▪ *Vocatives:*

◦ **త.⇨ሮ.ଓ!** / a tamyart !      “Hey, woman!”

▪ *Morphemes of presentation:*

**ዕ.ኩወቸዎ.** / ha inbgwn.      “Here are the guests.”

▪ *Lexicalised words introduced by Θ፡ / bu, ቁቃ፡ / mmu, ደ፡ / mu, እ፡ / m, ዓ፡ / u, ዓ፡/ ult, ጥጥ፡ / gg<sup>w</sup>, ዓ፡/ ayt, etc.:*

Θ፡ተ.ሸ.ልት / butagant	“boar”
Theta፡ኩቸ፡ / buerfa	“Bouarfa” (toponym)
ዕርጂወዱ፡ / miclfn	“Michlifen” (toponym)
አ፡ተለ፡ / aytma	“those (masc.) of / those belonging to my mother = my brothers”

When the string is not a lexicalised sequence, a blank space surfaces between the noun and the preceding element.

<b>ዕ.በወሮ ፊ Θ፡ +ጽርርፋ.</b> sawly i bu tgmmi. “I talked to the owner of the house.”
<b>ዕ.ወሮ ፊ አ.ወሮ ዓ፡ጽጽ፡.</b> yr i lal n uxlam. “Call the housewife.”
<b>ዕ.ተፋይ.ወሮ</b> m tit̪awin “the woman with beautiful eyes”

▪ *Quantifiers:*

ዕ.ወሮ ፊ ተ፡ሮስክ፡ / azgn n tuyrift	“half of a loaf of bread”
ዕ.ወሮ ፊ ይህል፡ / aṭṭaṣ n iwdan	“many people”
ተ፡ሸተ፡ ፊ ይላለ፡ / tugt n middn	“most people”
ዕ.ተ፡ ፊ የወሮስር፡ / amata n ierrimn	“most young people”

Should the quantifier have a pronominal complement, the latter surfaces as an independent graphic word.

ዕ.ወሮ ፊ እ፡/ / የወሮስር፡ / aṭṭaṣ nnsn	“ most of them”
ተ፡ሸተ፡ ፊ እ፡/ / የወሮስር፡ / tugt nnsn	“the majority of them”
ዕ.ተ፡ ፊ እ፡/ / የወሮስር፡ / amata nnsn	“the majority of them”

## 2. Schwa writing rules

In writing, schwa, dubbed also the neutral vowel, is only resorted to foil the attempt to create a sequence of strictly adjacent identical consonants. Using the schwa in writing is, thereby, essentially necessitated in the following situations:

- a. *A sequence of more than two identical root consonants coexisting in a word:*

ለዕላል / dllel	“to sell by putting up for auction”
ለሙሙያ / dmmem	“to implore”
ዘጋጀሚያ / fzzez	“to chew”

- b. *Prefixation of the person marker + / t- to verbal stems containing an initial tt / tt provided that the initial tt / tt is:*

- part of a stem:

ትቱ / ttu	>	ተቻቻቱ / tettu
“to forget”		“She forgot.”

- an imperfective aspect marker:

ተቻቻለ / ttawi	>	ተቻቻተቻለ / tettawi
“to bring, to take”		“she usually brings / takes”

- a passive tense marker:

ተሟሟሩ ብ / ttyakar	>	ተቻቻተሟሟሩ ብ / tettyakr
“to be stolen, to be robbed”		“she was stolen / robbed”

Let it be known that there are extreme cases where the tt / tt belonging to the root, the person marker + / t and the imperfective aspect marker tt / tt abut against each other, as laid out in the example below:

Stem	Imperfective	Imperfective 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. (fem. sing.)
ትቱ / ttu	ተቻቻቻቱ / ttetu	ተቻቻቻቻቱ / tettetu

To obviate such undesired forms (i.e. ተቻቻቻቻቱ / tettetu), truncation of the first consonant is resorted to, and the output looks as follows:

ተቻቻቻቱ / ttetu (in place of ተቻቻቻቻቱ / tettetu)

*c. Verbal stems finishing with two identical consonants:*

The insertion of schwa in such stems is essentially necessitated so as to obviate the gemination of the two adjacent identical stem consonants (*cf.* 1.1).

## CHAPTER 3

### The noun and the noun phrase

#### 1. Noun formation

A noun is a lexical unit made up of a root and a stem. It can take a simple form (ⴰⵔⴳⴰⵣ / argaz “man”, ⴰⵍⵉⵙ / adlis “book”, ⴰⵎⵓⵔⵜ / tamurt “land, ground”), a compound form (ⴱⵓⵀⵢⵢUF / buhyuf “hunger”, ⴱⵓڅⵓ𝚃ⴰM / butxutam “annular”) or a derived form (ⴰⵙⵍⵎD / aslmd “teaching”, ⴷⵄⵊⵄS / iyimi “stay”, ⴳⵇ.ⵍ.ⵄ. / amsawaḍ “communication”).

A noun may vary depending on its gender (ⴰⵎⵀⴷⴰⵔ / amħdar “a pupil, masc.”, ⴰⵎ.+.+H / tamħdaṛ “a pupil, fem.”), number (ⴰⵎ.+.+H / amħdaṛ, sing. - ⴰⵎ.+.+H / imħdaṛn, plr.) and state (ⴰⵎ.+.+H / amħdaṛ, FS - ⴰⵎ.+.+H / umħdaṛ, CS).

##### 1.1 Gender

Two gender types are recognised: masculine and feminine. In general, the feminine form gets its shape from the masculine form.

*We recognise two gender types:*

- a. Natural gender, which is inextricably related to the semantic content of the noun in the sense of distinguishing between a “male” and a “female”, is usually used for sexed creatures such as human beings and animals.
- b. Grammatical gender relies on the grammatical formal properties portrayed by the gender morphological markers.

With regard to borrowings from other languages such as Arabic, the borrowed nouns preserve their original gender while receiving the Amazigh feminine markers.

Semantically, feminine nouns devoid of feminine morphological markers are identified as feminine nouns on the basis of the agreement that holds between the noun and the verb in a sentence.

### a. Masculine nouns

Masculine nouns are, in general, preceded by one of the following vowels:  
 • / a, ئ / i or ئ / u. The nouns that start by the vowel ئ - / a- make the majority of nouns:

• ح ئ / afus	“hand”
• ئ ئ ئ / aðar	“foot”
• ئ ئ ئ ئ / abrid	“way, path”
ئ ئ / ul	“heart”
ئ ئ ئ / udm	“face”
ئ ئ ئ ئ / ixf	“head”
ئ ئ ئ ئ / ils	“tongue”

In parallel to the vowel-initial class, another class consists of consonant-initial nouns:

م ئ ئ / laz	“hunger”
ح ئ ئ / fad	“thirst”
ئ ئ ئ ئ / middn	“people”
ئ ئ ئ ئ / baðaq	“love”

As a general rule, vowel-initial nouns are categorised as masculine nouns. Yet, exceptions to this rule are well admitted:

ئ ئ ئ ئ / imma	“mum”
ئ ئ ئ ئ / illi	“(my) daughter”
ئ ئ ئ ئ / ultma	“(my) sister”

It is not an oddity for the masculine form which is derived from a feminine base to express an augmentative value:

ت ئ ئ ئ ئ / tigmmi	“house”	ئ ئ ئ ئ ئ / igmmi	“big house”
ت ئ ئ ئ ئ / taddart	“house”	ئ ئ ئ ئ ئ / addar	“big house”
ت ئ ئ ئ ئ / tamart	“beard”	ئ ئ ئ ئ ئ / amar	“big beard”

It is also not untypical of the masculine nouns that are derived from feminine nouns to have a derogatory meaning; especially if there is talk of sexed beings.

†.IΘ:O† / tanburt	“spinster”	.IΘ:O / anbur	“mannish spinster (derogatory)”
†.ΛΧ.Μ† / tadgalt	“widow”	.ΛΧ.Μ / adgal	“a woman with bad reputation”
†.CΕΕ:Ε† / tamṭuḍt	“woman”	.CΕΕ:Ε / amṭuḍ	“mannish woman”

There are masculine nouns that have no feminine form.

.Iℳ.Q / anżar	“rain”
.Λℳℳ / adfl	“snow”
.C:ℳ / amud	“seed”
Σℳℳ (Σℳℳ) / iyss (ixss)	“bone”

### b. Feminine nouns

The circumfix †...† / t...t expresses feminineness. To yield a feminine noun, the circumfix, more often than not, flanks the stem of the noun.

.ℳℳℳ / agmar	“horse”	†.ℳℳℳ.O† / tagmart	“mare”
Σℳℳℳ / isli	“groom”	†.Σℳℳℳ† / tislit	“bride”
:ℳℳℳ / uccn	“wolf”	†.:ℳℳℳ† / tuccnt	“wolf (fem.)”

A number of feminine nouns take either the initial or the final † / t of the feminine circumfix morpheme †...† / t...t, as set out below.

†.ℳℳℳ / tadla	“bunch”
†.ℳℳℳ / tawla	“fever”
QQℳℳℳ / ḥrmuyt	“tiredness”

As for other nouns, feminineness is evinced by lexical opposition. Put in another way, feminine nouns are not directly formed on the basis of a masculine stem.

.ℳℳℳℳ / ayyis	“horse”	→	†.ℳℳℳℳ.O† / tagmart	“mare”
ℳℳℳℳℳ / memmi	“(my) son”	→	ℳℳℳℳℳ / illi	“(my) daughter”
ℳℳℳℳℳ / baba	“(my) father”	→	ℳℳℳℳℳ / immi // imma	“(my) mother”
ℳℳℳℳℳ / ismg	“slave”	→	ℳℳℳℳℳ / tawayya	“slave (fem.)”

*(i). Diminutive, meliorative and collective nouns*

Nouns in feminine form may denote diminutiveness.

☒☒Ξ / itri	“star”	→	☒☒Ξ☒ / titrit	“small star”
☒☒Θ / afus	“hand”	→	☒☒Θ☒ / tafust	“small hand”
☒☒Q / adar	“foot”	→	☒☒Q☒ / tađar	“small foot”

The diminutive form may express an appreciative function.

☒☒Θ / afus	“hand”	→	☒☒Θ☒ / tafust	“cuffs”
☒☒C / aqmu	“mouth”	→	☒☒C☒ / taqmut	“small mouth”

The feminine form may also refer to a unit noun, and thereby stands in a tangential relationship with its corresponding masculine form which refers to a collective noun. This phenomenon holds, most influentially, when the nouns belong to the fauna and flora domains.

☒☒.☒C / azalim	“onion”	→	☒☒.☒C☒ / tazalimt	“an onion”
☒☒.☒l / argan	“argan”	→	☒☒.☒l☒ / targant	“an argan tree”
☒☒.☒x / xizzu	“carrots”	→	☒☒.☒x☒ / taxizzut	“a carrot”
☒☒.☒x.☒ / asngar	“corn”	→	☒☒.☒x.☒☒ / tasngart	“an ear of corn”

The feminine form may also refer to an action carried out by an agent, a physical or moral quality, or a (geographical, cultural, ethnic ...) origin or affiliation.

☒☒.☒x.☒ / amxxar	“thief”	→	☒☒.☒x.☒☒ / tamxxart	“thief (fem.)”
☒☒.☒x.☒ / amggʷad	“coward”	→	☒☒.☒x.☒☒ / tiggʷdt	“fear”
☒☒.☒x / ayzař	“big, tall”	→	☒☒.☒x / tiyzi	“length”

*(ii). The feminine form of nouns preceded by ئ- / u-, ئو- / bu-, ئى- / ayt-*

Nouns of concern here are the ones preceded by the morpheme (ئو- / bu- “the one with / owning”) that expresses belonging or by the morphemes

(⌚- / u-, ⚽+ / ayt- “the one / those belonging to, depending of”) that express affiliation.

⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / bu iħllaln	“liar”	→	⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / m iħllaln	“liar (fem.)”
⌚ + ⸻ ⸻ / u tmaziyt	“compatriot”	→	⌚ + ⸻ ⸻ / ult tmaziyt	“compatriot (fem.)”
⌚+ ⸻ ⸻ / ayt uxam	“family members”	→	⌚+ ⸻ ⸻ / ist uxam	“the housewives”

### c. Nouns with a single gender

Amazigh recognises a class of nouns that have only one gender, masculine or feminine.

⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / anżar	“rain”
⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / adfl	“snow”
⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / akal	“ground, land”
⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / tawiza	“collective work»
⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / tawja	“family”
⌚ ⸻ ⸻ / taħa	“alliance pact”

## 1.2. Number

Amazigh nouns recognise two forms: singular and plural. It should also be noted that Amazigh nouns, not unlike most other languages, agree with verbs in number (*cf. 8.1.b*).

Under the plural form, nouns may take a variety of shapes depending on the kind of morphological alterations they are subject to. These alterations are set out below.

- Singular nouns initial vowel alteration;
- vowel alteration coupled with the suffixation of the plural marker -l / -n or one of its variants; this sort of plural form is conventionally termed *regular* plural;
- phonetic alterations observed in the singular noun stem; this sort of plural is dubbed the *broken* plural;
- two or three of the above processes conjoined in a single package in the plural form of the noun; this type is labelled *mixed* plural.

### a. Regular plural

Under this category, nouns exhibit initial vowel alteration wedged with the affixation of -l / -n or one of its variants (-ξl / -in, -oł / -an, -ɔξl / -ayn, -łłl / -wn, -ołłl / -awn, -łłoł / -wan, -łłξl / -win, -łłłl / -tn, -ɔξłłl / -yin ).

To generate the plural form, vowel initial singular nouns, most influentially those with an initial o- / a-, undergo an alteration whereby the initial vowel is shifted to ξ- / i-.

While the o- / a- initial nouns may sporadically keep their initial vowel in the plural form, the nouns with initial ö- / u- foil the attempt to undergo any change whatsoever when they are mapped on their plural form. As for nouns with initial ξ- / i-, they rarely undergo any change.

As a general rule, the initial vowel alteration is accompanied by the suffixation of the plural marker -l / -n or one of its variants, depending on whether the noun is masculine or feminine.

#### (i). o- / a- // ξ- / i- alternation

This alternation obtains in most nouns. It is not untypical of feminine nouns undergoing this process to exhibit an -ξ- / -i- just after the first element t- / t- of the circumfix +... (t) / t ... (t).

øΛΙΞΘ / adlis	“book”	→	ξΛΙΞΘl / idllisn	“books”
øE.Q / aðar	“foot”	→	ξE.Ql / iðaṛn	“feet”
+øΛΙΞΘ / tahnjirt	“girl”	→	+ξΛΙΞΘξl / tihnjirin	“girls”

(ii). o- / a- // ξ- / i- alternation along with the suffixation of -l / -n or one of its variants (-ξl / -in, -(o)łłl / -(a)wn, -(ξ)łłl / -(i)wn, -łłl / -yn, -łłłl / -tn).

øΛΙΞΘ / ahnjir	“boy”	→	ξΛΙΞΘl / ihnjirn	“boys”
øO.O / urar	“game, feast”	→	øO.Ol / urarn	“games, feasts”
+øθO.ø / tabrat	“letter”	→	+ξθO.øξl / tibratin	“letters”
ξΧΗ / ixf	“head”	→	ξΧΗ.łłl / ixfawn	“heads”
ξ * <td>“lion”</td> <td>→</td> <td>ξ *c.łłl / izmawn</td> <td>“lions”</td>	“lion”	→	ξ *c.łłl / izmawn	“lions”
øŁ.ł / awal	“talk”	→	øŁ.ł.łłl / iwaliwn	“talks”
øIθΧξ / anbgi	“guest”	→	øIθΧξłłl / inbgiwn	“guests”
øԿՕՂ.ø / ayrda	“mouse”	→	øԿՕՂ.øłłl / iyrdayn	“mice”
øLΙΨξ / amnyi	“dispute”	→	øLΙΨξłłl / imnyitn	“disputes”

### b. Broken plural

Further to the initial vocalic alternation  $\text{o-} / \text{a-} // \text{ɛ-} / \text{i-}$ , the plural form may also exhibit stem-internal vowel shifts. When such plural form holds, no suffixation process is resorted to.

$\text{oAO}_\circ\text{O} / \text{adrar}$	“mountain”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛA}:\text{O}_\circ\text{O} / \text{idurar}$	“mountains”
$\text{oΘ}_\circ\text{Y}_\circ\text{Θ} / \text{abayus}$	“monkey”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛΘ}_\circ\text{Y}_\circ\text{Θ} / \text{ibuyas}$	“monkeys”
$\text{oX}_\circ\text{A}:\text{O} / \text{agadir}$	“wall, castle”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛX}_\circ\text{A}:\text{O} / \text{igudar}$	“walls, castles”
$\text{oXO}+\text{ɛ} \text{W} / \text{agrtıl}$	“mat”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛXO}+\text{ɛ} \text{W} / \text{agrtıl}$	“mats”
$\text{t} \text{ɛY} \text{C} \text{t} / \text{tiymas}$	“tooth”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{t} \text{ɛY} \text{C}_\circ\text{Θ} / \text{tiymas}$	“teeth”
$\text{o} \text{K} \text{C} \text{K} / \text{azmz}$	“time”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛ} \text{K} \text{C}_\circ\text{K} / \text{izmaz}$	“times”
$\text{o} \text{E}_\circ\text{E}_\circ\text{l} / \text{amaðun}$	“ill person”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛ} \text{E}_\circ\text{E}_\circ\text{l} / \text{imudan}$	“ill people”

### c. Mixed plural (suffixation and internal vocalic alteration)

The mixed plural form may well be created by an internal and / or final alteration of the noun stem vowel(s) as well as by the affixation of  $-l / -n$ .

$\text{ɛ} \text{M} \text{ɛ} / \text{ili}$	“part”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛ} \text{M}_\circ\text{l} / \text{ilan}$	“parts”
$\text{ɛ} \text{K} \text{ɛ} \text{K} \text{O} / \text{izikr}$	“rope”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛ} \text{K}_\circ\text{K}_\circ\text{O}_\circ\text{l} / \text{izakarn}$	“ropes”
$\text{:O}+\text{:} / \text{urtu}$	“orchard”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{:O}_\circ\text{t}_\circ\text{l} / \text{urtan}$	“orchards”
$\text{:C} \text{C} \text{l} / \text{uccn}$	“jackal”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{:C} \text{C} \text{C}_\circ\text{l} / \text{uccann}$	“jackals”
$\text{:X} \text{W} / \text{ugl}$	“tooth”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{:X} \text{M}_\circ\text{l} / \text{uglan}$	“teeth”

Sometimes, when the initial vowel is changed, a concomitant alteration obtains on the medial and final vowels.

$\text{o} \text{E}_\circ\text{M}_\circ / \text{amalu}$	“shade”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛ} \text{E}_\circ\text{M}_\circ / \text{imula}$	“shades”
$\text{o} \text{Y} \text{Θ}_\circ\text{M}_\circ / \text{aybalu}$	“spring”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛ} \text{Y} \text{Θ}_\circ\text{M}_\circ / \text{iýbula}$	“springs”
$\text{o} \text{C} \text{X} \text{X}_\circ\text{O}_\circ / \text{amggaru}$	“the last (sing.)”	$\rightarrow$	$\text{ɛ} \text{C} \text{X} \text{X}_\circ\text{O}_\circ / \text{imggura}$	“the last (plr.)”

*d. Plural of nouns preceded by :- / u- and :-lt- / ult-*

Sing.	Gloss		Plr.
፡ + ⊲. *ξՕ+ / u tmazirt	“fellow citizen (masc.)”	→	。Տ + ⊲. *ξՕ+ / ayt tmazirt
։Մ + ⊲. *ξՕ+ / ult tmazirt	“fellow citizen (fem.)”	→	ξՕ+ + ⊲. *ξՕ+ / ist tmazirt

*e. The plural with ΣΛ / id*

Under this category, singular nouns take a pre-nominal morpheme **ΣΛ** / id to shape their plural form. Nouns belonging to this category may be set out as follows: proper nouns, kinship nouns, compound nouns, numerals and some consonant-initial nouns. To this category, we can also add some borrowed nouns which may well be viewed to have integrated the morphology of the Amazigh language.

ްަންނަ / murran	“strapping person”	→	ްުންނަން / id murran	“strapping people”
ްންނަން / Brahim	“Brahim”	→	ްުންނަން / id Brahim	“The Brahims”
ްންނަން / butgra	“turtle”	→	ްުންނަން / id butgra	“turtles”
ްންނަން / butagant	“wild boar”	→	ްުންނަން / id butagant	“wild boars”
ްންނަން / bu islman	“fish merchant”	→	ްުންނަން / id bu islman	“fish merchants”
ްންނަން / m ufus	“one-armed woman”	→	ްުންނަން / id m ufus	“one-armed women”
ްންނަން / bab n tgmmi	“house owner”	→	ްުންނަން / id bab n tgmmi	“house owners”
ްންނަން / lal n uxksam	“housewife”	→	ްުންނަން / id lal n uxksam	“housewives”
ްންނަން / war laman	“traitor”	→	ްުންނަން / id war laman	“traitors”
ްންނަން / tar laman	“traitor (fem.)”	→	ްުންނަން / id tar laman	“traitors (fem.)”
ްންނަން / xali	“uncle (my)”	→	ްުންނަން / id xali	“my uncles”

ئوں / mraw	“ten”	→	ΣΛ ئوں / id mraw	“tens”
MILF / alf	“thousand”	→	ΣΛ MILF / id walf	“thousands”
MILF / lkamyu	“lorry”	→	ΣΛ MILF / id lkamyu	“lorries”

#### f. The plural form of integrated borrowed nouns

Borrowings which abide by the laws of Amazigh morphology are labelled integrated borrowings. The borrowings which fall under this category map their plural form in the same fashion in which Amazigh nouns map their plural forms. Non-integrated borrowings keep their original plural form or take the pre-posed morpheme ΣΛ / id.

oadrim / adrim	“coin (money)”	→	ΣΛօξι / idrimn	“money”
tawriqt / tawriqt	“a sheet (paper)”	→	†Σլօξէլ / tiwriqin	“sheets (paper)”
afrmliy / afrmliy	“a nurse (masc.)”	→	ΣՀօւմէս / ifrmliy	“nurses (masc.)”
abukadyu / abukadyu	“sandwich”	→	ΣԹօւմէտ / ibukadyutn	“sandwiches”
lhmmam / lhmmam	“steam bath”	→	ΜԽԸՆԸ / lhmmamat	“steam baths”

#### g. Nouns in singular or plural form only

A whole range of nouns do not have more than one number specification. They surface as singular nouns or as plural nouns only. Other nouns derive their singular form from different roots.

##### (i) Singular nouns with no plural form

لِيَز / laz	“hunger”
فِرْد / fad	“thirst”
مِرْت / lmut	“death”
تَكْرِزا / takrza	“ploughing”
بَأْدَاد / bađad	“love”

(ii) Plural nouns with no singular form

◦Εο / aman	“water”
ΣΛ◦ΕΙ / idammn	“blood”
ΣΛΛ◦Ι / ΣΣΛΛΙ - iwdan / middn	“people”

**h. Nouns whose plural form is lexically different from their counterparts in the singular form**

†ΣΘΣ†◦Ι / tisitan	“cows”	→	†◦Η◦Ι◦Θ† / tafunast	“cow”
†ΣΨ◦ΙΙ◦Ι / tiyallin	“mares”	→	†◦Χ◦Ο◦Θ† / tagmart	“a mare”
†ΣΘΛ◦Ι / tisdnan	“women”	→	†◦Ε◦Ε◦Ε† / tamṭuḍt	“a woman”

### 1.3. State: free vs. construct

State opposition (*free state* vs. *construct state*) may well be viewed to fall under inflectional morphology since grammatical category does not change when nouns move from the free to the construct state. This phenomenon is replete in the lexicon. Under this phenomenon, the first syllable of a noun is morpho-phonologically affected if it meets the conditions necessary for the formation of the construct state.

Nouns subject to this rule are basically vowel-initial (◦- / a-, Σ- / i-, ئ- / u-) masculine nouns. Consonant-initial nouns, no matter how and where they appear, never exhibit state opposition. Conversely, feminine nouns, when preceded by an initial consonant † / t, undergo the changes exercised by the construct state by dropping the vowel that comes after the first segment of the circumfix †...† / t ... t.

#### a. Free State

Under the free state, the initial vowel of a masculine noun evinces no modification whatsoever. The same display holds also for the vowel that follows the marker † / t in feminine nouns.

◦ΟΧ◦ * / argaz</td <td>“man”</td>	“man”
Σ * ◦ / izm</td <td>“lion”</td>	“lion”

ଓଡ଼ି / urtu	“orchard”
ତୋର୍ଦ୍ରି / tamurt	“land, country”
ତିଫିୟୀ / tififyi	“meat”
ତୁସନ୍ନା / tussna	“knowledge, culture”

Generally, nouns take the free state form when they are isolated. In non-isolated contexts, nouns may take the free or the construct state form depending on syntactic position. The contexts in which nouns appear in the free state in non-isolated contexts are laid out below:

- After a vocative, a deictic of presentation or an interrogative pronoun

- ፳. ተሮቻ ወት ! / a tamyart ! “Hey, woman!”
  - ፊዴስ ወት ! / a irban ! “Hey, children!”
  - ቅ. ድጋጌ ወ. / ha ayyur. “Here is the moon.”
  - ቅ. ወ. ተሮቻ ሌ. / ha nn aslmad. “There is the teacher.”
  - ቅ. ወ. የዴጂ ሌ. / ha nn uşkay. “There is the greyhound.”
  - ዓ. ወ. ተሮቻ ሌ. / aqa aslmad. “Here is the teacher.”
  - ፊ. ወ. አዴጂ ወ. ? / man ahnjir ? “Which child?”
  - ፊ. ወ. ዘዴስ ? / man tarbat ? “Which girl?”
  - ፊ. ወ. ተሮቻ ? / matta tmurt a ? “What is this country?”

- As a direct object of a verb:

አ。ተ፡ዕስ፡ዕስ፡ / da tturarn ahidus.	“They are dancing Ahidus.”
ያ፡ዕስ፡ዕስ፡ / yuzn asn tarbat.	“He sent them a letter.”
ሸርሃ፡፡ዕስ፡ዕስ፡ / isya uslmaad adlis.	“The teacher bought a book.”
ች፡ዕስ፡ / qqarn as izm.	“They call him the lion.”

-As a pre-posed subject, a topic indicator, a predicate or after the predication particle Λ / d:

- |                                                 |                            |
|-------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ◦ΘΗΣ◦Λ ΣΟ◦Λ. / aslmad irah.                     | “The teacher is gone.”     |
| ◦ΘΗΣ◦Λ, ΣΟ◦Λ. / aslmad, irah.                   | “The teacher, he is gone.” |
| Ψ◦Ο◦Τ +Ι◦ΛΚQ◦ ΣΨ◦Λ◦Ι. /<br>yurs tanakra iyudan. | “He has a nice mat.”       |

Λ .ΘΗΣ. / d aslm.	“It is a fish.”
׃Ο Λ †.Ε׃Ο† ΣΙ׃ .Σ. / ur d tamurt inu aya.	“This is not my country.”
ΣΘ Λ .Θ.Ψ׃Θ .Σ. / is d abayus aya ?	“Is this a monkey?”
Ἐ.Λ .ΟΘ. / ma d arba ?	“Is it a child?”
ΣΧ .Ψ׃Λ .ΨΟΛ. / iga zun d ayrdar ?	“He is like a mouse.”

- As a qualifier (quality noun) after a qualified noun:

- ΧΟ◦Λ◦ΕΖΖΟ◦ / agraw amqqrān “The big crowd”
- ΘΣΙ◦Χ◦ΧΗΛ◦ / asinag agldan “The Royal Institute”
- ΑΣΛ◦Θ◦ΚΤΛ◦† / ahidus akswat “Great Ahidus”

- After the following morphemes:

- .Η / al “until, till” and ΘΗ◦ / bla “without”

ΣΛΛ◦ .Η◦ .ΛΟ◦Ο. / idda al adrār.	“He went to the mountain.”
†ΛΛ◦ ΘΗ◦ .ΖΟ◦Θ. / tdda bla aqrab.	“She went without a bag.”

- Ψ◦Θ / yas and ΨΣ◦ / yir “only”

Ψ◦Θ .ΗΟ◦Χ◦Ψ◦ \*QΣΨ. / yas afrux ay z̥rix. “I saw the child only.”

- The privative Ή◦Ο / war “without (masc.)”, †◦Ο / tar “without (fem.)” and the derogatory negator Χ◦Ο / gar.

Η◦Ο ΣΛΟΞΔ◦ / war idrimn	“without money, penniless”
†◦Ο .ΟΟ◦Λ / tar arrow	“without children, sterile woman”
Χ◦Ο †◦Λ◦Ξ / gar tawuri	“nasty business”

### b. Construct State

A noun in the construct state is specified by an alteration of the first vowel in specific syntactic positions. Construct state forms are conditioned by the nature of the initial vowel as well as by the gender (masc. and fem.) and the number (sing. and plr) of the noun.

(i) Syntactic contexts in which the construct state obtains

The construct state obtains in the following syntactic positions:

- When the noun has the syntactic function of a lexical subject and it is post-posed to the verb:

ස፡Θ Λ :Θዕርል. / yus d uslmad	“The teacher has come.” (FS: ዘዕርል / aslmad)
ተ፡Θ Λ +Θዕርል+ / tus d tslmadt	“The teacher (fem.) has come.” (FS: ተ፡Θዕርል+ / taslmadt)

- After a preposition, to the exception of ሠ / al “till, until” and ቅዱ / bla “without”:

ጥኞችና እ፡ የጤርል. / siwly i unccad	“I have talked to the poet.” (FS: የጤርል / anccad)
አውላ ካ+ታዕሙት / awal n tmazirt	“the homeland language ” (FS: ተታዕሙት / tamazirt)
እዚሁ ፌ፡ የሚሸጋል. / iffy g unzər.	“He went out while it was raining.” (FS: የሚሸጋል / anzər)
እወዚ ፌ፡ የወጪዎች. / illa xf ukabar.	“He leads the troop.” (FS: የወጪዎች / akabar)
እወዚ ተሂዕስ የሚሸጋል. / izra t yr umzil.	“He saw him at the smiths.” (FS: የሚሸጋል / amzil)
እወዚ ፌ፡ የአይወዚ. / izdy g ujdir.	“He lives in Ajdir.” (FS: የአይወዚ / ajdir)

- After a coordinator:

የሚሸጋል ለ፡ዕርድና እና አንዛራቅ / anzər d usmmid      “rain and cold”

- After the morphemes ወ / u, ወዕት / ult, ወያት / ayt, ወዕት / ist, ቅዱ / bu and ቅ (ዕር) / m (mm) denoting attribution, affiliation or belonging:

እዕት (ለ) ተታዕሙት / ist (n) tmazirt	“fellow citizens (fem.)” (FS: ተታዕሙት / tamazirt)
ቤ፡ ወሃኒም / Bu uyanim	“flute player” (FS: ወሃኒም / ayanim)
ሙሉ ቅዱዎች / m tnakriwin	“the mat seller (fem.)” (FS: ቅዱዎች / tinakriwin)

- After a numeral, regardless if it is followed by the genitive preposition እ or not:

ሸል ይረዳኝ / yan umnay	“ one knight” (FS: የረዳኝ / amnay)
ሮዴ ን ይዴስ / ijj n urba	“ one boy ” (FS: የዴስ / arba)
ሮት (ሉ) ተመጥቻች / yat (n) tm̄tuđt	“ one woman” (FS: ተመጥቻች / tam̄tuđt)
ሮጾች ተአነጭዽ / ict n th̄njirt	“ one girl” (FS: ተአነጭዽ / tañnjirt)
ሮላት (ሉ) ተፊራሳን / snat (n) tfirasin	“two pears” (FS: ተፊራሳን / tfirasin)
ሮፃፃ ተይያልን / kraqd̄t (n) teyyalin	“three girls” (FS: ተይያልን / tieyyalin)

- After ፌለ / id “of”:

ሮፃፃ ፌለ ሆኖዴዴ / sin id walf      “two thousand”

### (ii) Construct state forms

- The construct state of singular masculine nouns with an initial vowel የ- / a-, ዓ- / u- or ፌ- / i-:

- The alternation የ- / a- → ዓ- / u-:

FS	Gloss	CS
የፊራሳን / afiras	“pear”	የፊራሳን / ufiras
የአውራር / ahwac	“Ahwash”	የአውራር / uhwac
የአዛለም / azalim	“onion”	የአዛለም / użalim

- Preserving initial የ- / a-, ዓ- / u-, ፌ- / i- while prefixing ሆ- / w- and ፅ- / y-:

FS	Gloss	CS
የአኔ / anu	“well”	ወአኔ / wanu
የአማን / aman	“water”	ወአማን / waman
የወሳፍ / asif	“river”	ወወሳፍ / wasif
የወድም / udm	“face”	ወወድም / wudm
የወሂሮ / ury	“gold”	ወወሂሮ / wury
የይዝ / izi	“fly”	የይይዝ / yizi
የይፍሪ / ifri	“cave”	የይይፍሪ / yifri

- Construct state of singular feminine nouns with initial  $\text{+o-} / \text{ta-}$ ,  $\text{+ɔ-} / \text{tu-}$  or  $\text{+ɛ-} / \text{ti-}$ :

- *Loss of the initial vowel o- / a- or ɔ- / u-:*

<u>FS</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>CS</u>
$\text{+o.ɔ.t} / \text{tamurt}$	“land , country”	→	$\text{+ɛ.t} / \text{tmurt}$
$\text{+o.ɛ.t} / \text{tamyart}$	“woman”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.t} / \text{tmyart}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.t} / \text{tzikrt}$	“small rope”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.t} / \text{tzikrt}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɔ.t} / \text{tifrit}$	“small cave”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɔ.t} / \text{tfrit}$

- *Preserving the initial vowel -o- / -a-, -ɔ- / -u- or -ɛ- / -i-:*

<u>FS</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>CS</u>
$\text{+o.ɛ.t} / \text{tanut}$	“small well”	→	$\text{+o.ɛ.t} / \text{tanut}$
$\text{+o.ɔ.t} / \text{tagut}$	“fog”	→	$\text{+o.ɔ.t} / \text{tagut}$
$\text{+o.ʌ.t} / \text{taddart}$	“house”	→	$\text{+o.ʌ.t} / \text{taddart}$
$\text{+o.ɛ.ɛ.t} / \text{taydit}$	“she-dog”	→	$\text{+o.ɛ.ɛ.t} / \text{taydit}$
$\text{+ɔ.ɔ.t} / \text{turtit}$	“small orchard”	→	$\text{+ɔ.ɔ.t} / \text{turtit}$
$\text{+ɔ.ʌ.t} / \text{tudit}$	“butter”	→	$\text{+ɔ.ʌ.t} / \text{tudit}$
$\text{+ɔ.ɛ.t} / \text{tuccnt}$	“she-wolf”	→	$\text{+ɔ.ɛ.t} / \text{tuccnt}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.t} / \text{tizit}$	“midge”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.t} / \text{tizit}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɔ.t} / \text{titrit}$	“star”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɔ.t} / \text{titrit}$

- Construct state of plural nouns:

- *Preservation of the initial vowel ɛ- / i- in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:*

<u>FS</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>CS</u>
$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{ilqayn}$	“lambs”	→	$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{ilqayn}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{tilqayin}$	“ewe lambs”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{tlqayin}$
$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.l} / \text{icirran}$	“children”	→	$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.l} / \text{icirran}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.ɛ.l} / \text{ticirratin}$	“girls”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.ɛ.l} / \text{tcirratin}$
$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.l} / \text{izlan}$	“songs”	→	$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.l} / \text{izlan}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.ɛ.l} / \text{tizlatin}$	“songs”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɔ.ɛ.l} / \text{tzlatin}$
$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{isaffn}$	“rivers”	→	$\text{ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{isaffn}$
$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{tisaffin}$	“small rivers”	→	$\text{+ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.ɛ.l} / \text{tsaffin}$

- Prefixing **U** / w in the masc. plr. form and preserving the vowel **o-** / **a-**, **ø-** / **u-** in the fem. plr. form:

<b>FS</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>CS</b>
◦OX◦l / argan	“argan”	→ U◦OX◦l / wargan
t◦OX◦lxi / targanin	“argan trees”	→ t◦OX◦lxi / targanin
ølo / una	“wells”	→ Uølo / wuna
tølo / tuna	“small wells”	→ tølo / tuna
øΛC◦lU / udmawn	“faces”	→ UøΛC◦lU / wudmawn
tøΛC◦lxi / tudmawin	“small faces”	→ tøΛC◦lxi / tudmawin

- Maintenance of the vowel **Σ-** / **i-** in the masc. plr. form and its loss in the fem. plr. form:

<b>FS</b>	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>CS</b>
ΣX◦R◦OI / izakarn	“ropes”	→ ΣX◦R◦OI / izakarn
tΣX◦R◦OΣI / tizakarin	“small ropes”	→ tΣX◦R◦OΣI / tzakarin
ΣH◦O◦l / ifran	“caves”	→ ΣH◦O◦l / ifran
tΣH◦O◦tΣI / tifratin	“small caves”	→ tH◦O◦tΣI / tfratin
ΣX◦C◦l / ixamn	“houses”	→ ΣX◦C◦l / ixamn
tΣX◦C◦lxi / tixamin	“tents, houses”	→ tX◦C◦lxi / txamin

### *Summary tables of Construct State formation*

<b>Masculine</b>		
	<b>Free State</b>	<b>Construct State</b>
<b>Singular</b>	◦..... / a.....	ø..... / u.....
	◦..... / a.....	U◦..... / wa.....
	Σ..... / i.....	Σ / ΣΣ..... / i / yi.....
	ø..... / u.....	Uø..... / wu.....
<b>Plural</b>	Σ.....l / i.....n	Σ.....l / i.....n
	◦.....l / a.....n	U◦.....l / wa.....n
	Σ.....l / i.....n	Σ.....l / i.....n
	◦.....◦(l) / u.....a(n)	U◦.....◦(l) / wu.....a(n)
	Σ.....l / i.....n	Σ.....l / i.....n
	◦.....l / u.....n	U◦.....l / wu.....n
	c <sup>8</sup> .....	c.....
	ΣΛ c..... / id c.....	ΣΛ c..... / id c.....

8- c stands for a consonant.

		Feminine	
		Free State	Construct State
Singular	+o.....(t) / ta.....(t)	+.....(t) / t.....(t)	
	+o.....(t) / ta.....(t)	+.....(t) / ta.....(t)	
	+ξ.....(t) / ti.....(t)	+.....(t) / t.....(t)	
	+ξ.....(t) / ti.....(t)	+ξ.....(t) / ti.....(t)	
	+ο.....(t) / tu.....(t)	+ο.....(t) / tu.....(t)	
Plural	+ξ.....l / ti.....n	+.....l / t.....n	
	+o.....ξl / ta.....in	+....ξl / t.....in	
	+ξ.....ξl / ti.....in	+....ξl / t.....in	
	+ο.....ξl / tu.....in	+ο.....ξl / tu.....in	
	+ξ.....(l) / ti.....(n)	+....ξl / t.....in	
	+ο.....ξl / tu.....in	+ο.....ξl / tu.....in	
	+o.....ξl / ta.....in	+o.....ξl / ta.....in	
	c.....(οt) / c.....(at)	c.....(οt) / c.....at	

## 2. Derived and compound nouns

Derived and compound nouns are complex forms of nouns that result from morphological or lexical processes. Both the derived and the compound forms obtain from the adjunction of two or more lexical units.

### 2.1. Derived nouns

A derived noun may well be formed by an initial or final affixation of a derivational morpheme to a simple noun. Yet, it should be contended that defining derivation along the above terms is but a pedagogical simplification. Affixal derivation does not hold via prefixation and suffixation only; some other alterations may obtain in the stem of the word. More often than not, derivation is more than affixation only; it involves alterations in the stem as well as in the vocalic melodies of the word.

It is on the basis of the strategies laid out above that nouns such as action, agentive, instrumental, place and quality nouns are derived.

#### a. Action nouns

An action noun is derived from a (simple or derived) verb that expresses an abstract or concrete action. Derivation, which takes the aorist theme (neutral form) as its basic form, is usually associated with some changes within the stem. The main procedures along which the derivation of action nouns is carried out are set out below:

- (i)  $\circ$ - / a- prefixation;
  - (ii)  $\circ$ - / u- prefixation;
  - (iii)  $\xi$ - / i- prefixation;
  - (iv) circumfixation of the feminine morpheme  $\dagger \dots \dagger$  /  $t \dots t$ ;
  - (v)  $\text{M}$ - / l- prefixation to loan words from Arabic.

(i) o- / a- prefixation along with some alterations in the stem

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Verb</u>
◦ጀጀ◦ / ◦ጀጀ፣ጀ aznza / azznuz	“selling”	<	ጀጀጀ / zznz
◦Theta◦ / abdar	“mentioning”	<	Theta / bdr
◦HOHO◦ / afrfr	“flying”	<	HOHO / frfr
◦Theta◦ / asqsi	“question”	<	Theta / sqsa
◦IΛ◦ / andar	“uprooting”	<	IΛ / ndr
◦Theta◦ / astay	“filtering”	<	Theta / sty
◦YΕ◦ / aymas	“covering”	<	YΕ / yms
◦Ktto◦ / akttay	“rememberance”	<	Ktto / kti
◦YΕΙ◦ / ayimi	“sitting”	<	YΕΙ / qqim
◦Theta◦ / abbay	“bite, tearing”	<	Theta / bby
◦Theta◦ / aslmd	“teaching”	<	Theta / sslmd
◦Theta◦ / asunsi	“wandering”	<	Theta / sunsi

(ii) :- prefixation associated with some alterations in the stem

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Gloss</u>		<u>Verb</u>
፡ሕ፡喻 / ufuŋ	“going out”	→	ሕሕ喻 / ffy
፡እ፡እ / uduð	“suckling”	→	እእእ / ttid
፡፣፡እ / unuð	“loitering, sticking”	→	፣፣እ / nnid
፡ሕና喻 / umiy	“fight”	→	ሕና喻 / mmay

(iii)  $\Sigma$ -prefixation

﴿ِمَزِيد / izid	“milling”	→	﴿ِمَزْدَاد / zdād	“to grind”
﴿ِمَزْدَاد / izmi	“pressure”	→	﴿ِمَزْدَاد / zmm	“to press”
﴿ِمَزْدَاد / imnyi	“dispute, fight”	→	﴿ِمَزْدَاد / ny	“to kill”

(iv) circumfixation of the feminine morpheme:  $\dagger\dots(\dagger)$  /  $t\dots(t)$ ,  $\dagger\dots\dots(\dagger)$  /  $ta\dots(t)$ ,  $\dagger\x\dots(\dagger)$  /  $ti\dots(t)$  and  $\dagger\dots\dots(\dagger)$  /  $tu\dots(t)$  associated with vocalic alteration of the initial or final vowel  $\circ$  / a,  $\xi$  / i or  $\circ$  / u and the gemination of a root consonant in some action nouns

Noun	Gloss		Verb
$\dagger\text{C}\circ\text{l}\dagger$ / tamunt	“company”	→	$\text{C}\circ\text{l}$ / mun
$\dagger\text{I}\text{K}\text{O}\circ$ / tankra	“getting up”	→	$\text{I}\text{K}\text{O}$ / nkr
$\dagger\text{U}\circ\text{O}\text{X}\xi\dagger$ / tawargit	“dream”	→	$\text{U}\circ\text{O}\text{X}$ / $\text{U}\circ\text{O}\text{X}\circ$ // warg / warga
$\dagger\x\text{Z}\text{C}\text{C}\circ\text{O}$ / tizmmar	“ability”	→	$\text{Z}\text{C}\text{O}$ / zmr
$\dagger\x\text{X}\text{I}\xi$ / tigni	“sewing”	→	$\text{X}\text{I}\circ$ / gnu
$\dagger\x\text{O}\text{O}\xi$ / $\dagger\x\text{O}\text{O}\circ$ // tissi / tissa	“drinking”	→	$\text{O}\circ$ / su
$\dagger\circ\text{A}\text{O}\dagger$ / tudrt	“life”	→	$\text{A}\text{A}\text{O}$ / ddr
$\dagger\circ\text{II}\circ\dagger$ / tujjut	“nice smell”	→	$\text{II}\circ$ / jju
$\dagger\circ\text{O}\text{O}\text{I}\circ$ / tussna	“knowledge”	→	$\text{O}\text{O}\text{I}$ / ssn

(v) Prefixation of Arabic  $\text{H}$ - /  $\text{l}$ - to some loan words

The prefix  $\text{H}$ - /  $\text{l}$ - may assimilate to the initial consonant of the verb, forming, thereby, a geminate with the consonant that follows.

$\text{H}\text{K}\text{C}\circ$ / lhmu	“heat”	→	$\text{K}\text{C}\circ$ / hmu	“to be hot”
$\text{O}\text{O}\text{X}\text{C}\dagger$ / rrhmt	“clemence”	→	$\text{O}\text{X}\text{C}$ / rhm	“to be clement”
$\text{M}\text{S}\text{S}\text{S}\circ\text{Q}$ / zzyyar	“tightening”	→	$\text{S}\text{S}\text{S}\text{Q}$ / zyyr	“to tighten”
$\text{H}\text{E}\text{+}\text{X}\text{O}\text{H}$ / litihal	“marriage”	→	$\dagger\text{O}\text{H}$ / tahl	“to marry”

### b. Agentive nouns

Agentive nouns are derived from action verbs. While the agentive noun generally refers to the real doer of the action, it may refer as well to the patient that receives the action. Agentive nouns usually refer to animate beings, a situation which explains their variation in gender and number. The close lexical and semantic connection that holds between an agentive noun and an

action noun is patently clear in most cases, namely when they are derived from the same verb. Some agentive nouns may well behave like quality nouns, most notably when the basic verb expresses an abstract action.

There are four different fashions in which an agentive noun can be derived, namely by prefixing one of the following four elements: **◦-** / **a-**, **◦E-** / **◦l-** // **am-** / **an-**, **ΣE-** / **im-**, **Σ-** / **i-** to the verb stem. The stem may also recognize further vocalic alterations.

<b>◦IΠU◦C</b> / anwwac	“slanderer”	→	IΠU◦C / nwwc	“to slander”
<b>◦E◦KO</b> / amakr	“thief”	→	◦KO / akr	“steal”
<b>◦E◦IΣ</b> / amnay	“knight”	→	IΣ / ny	“to ride”
<b>◦E◦OΣO</b> / amarir	“singer, poet”	→	◦O◦O / urar	“to sing, dance”
<b>◦IO*ΣEΗ</b> / anrzif	“visitor”	→	O*ΣEΗ / rzzf	“to visit”
<b>◦I◦*E◦C</b> / anazum	“faster (person)”	→	◦*E◦C / azum	“to fast”
<b>◦I◦E◦ΛΛ◦</b> / anmmaddu	“traveller”	→	◦E◦ΛΛ◦ / mmuddu	“to travel”
<b>ΣE◦K◦OΣ</b> / imkiri	“day labourer”	→	K◦O / kru	“to hire”

### c. Instrumental nouns

An instrumental noun is derived from an action noun, regardless if it is simple or derived. Instrumental nouns refer to the tool or means by which the action is implemented.

Instrumental nouns are generally formed by the prefixation of **◦-** / **a-** // **◦O-** / **as-** to the verbal theme. Sometimes, the affixation is concomitant with some vocalic or consonantal alterations in the verb stem.

<b>◦I*Η /</b> anzl	“goad”	<	I*Η / nzl	“to prick”
<b>◦O◦XΗ /</b> asrgl	“lid”	<	O◦XΗ / rgl	“to close”

◦ΘΧΙΣ / ΣΘΘΧΙΣ asgni / issgni	“big needle”	<	ΧΙο / gnu	“to sew”
◦ΘΛΛ:Η / ◦ΘΛΗ asddul / asdl	“covering”	<	ΛΗ / dl	“to cover”
◦ΘΖΖ:Ι / asqun	“lid”	<	ΖΖΙ / qqn	“to close”
◦ΘΚΟΗ / askrf	“hobble”	<	ΚΟΗ / krf	“to hobble”
◦ΘΕΘΛ / asmsd	“sharpener”	<	ΞΕΘΞΛ / imsid	“to be sharpened”
†◦ΘΧΘΞ† / tasxshit	“ashtray”	<	ΧΘΞ / xsi	“to be put out (fire)”
†◦ΘΟΟ◦Ε† / tasramt	“pencil- sharpener”	<	ΘΟΕ / srm	“to sharpen”

## 2.2. Compound nouns

Nominal compounding is less productive than derivation. Nominal compounding may well be viewed as a process whereby two elements are conjoined into a single noun that has a separate meaning. This meaning is usually the semantic combination of the meanings of the two words which are conjoined into the compound noun. The elements making up the compound noun may belong to the same lexical category as much as they may belong to different categories. The different fashions in which nominal compounding holds are laid out as follows:

### a- Noun + l / n+ noun

This sort of compounding relates two nouns by the genitive preposition l / n “of”; the second element of the compound is a complement that determines the first. More often than not, the compound noun is lexicalised into an idiomatic fixed form. The combination “noun + l / n + noun” behaves syntactically as a single noun and its plural form is derived by the use of ΣΛ / id:

◦Ε◦ΟΞΟ   ΣΧΜΙ / amarir n izlan	“poems singer = sort of fish”
◦ΧΟ:   ΗΘ:Ο / agru n lbur	“frog of uncultivated land = toad”

†.XCE.OT   ΣΘCE. / tagmart n ismđal	“cemetary mare = unicorn”
.*WCE   UGCC / ażalim n wuccn	“wolf onion = spring squill”
.E.   E.O:O / aman n marur	“marur water = mirage”
.IΘXΣ   QΘΘΣ / anbgi n ḫbbi	“God’s guest = guest”
†.WYC   Θ.Θ. QΘΘΣ / talymt n baba ḫbbi	“camel of my Lord = praying mantis”

#### b- *Noun + noun*

A compound noun may well take the form of two conjoined nouns where the modified noun comes first. It can be a quality noun:

Θ.Θ. QΘΘΣ / baba ḫbbi “Father-God = God”

#### c- *Noun + participle*

Under this display, the noun is the subject of the participle (a quality verb) that follows. Considered more carefully, the string is a reduced relative clause without a relative pronoun to join the two elements.

.E. EQIΣI / aman ḫrnin	“falling water = dew”
Θ.Θ. EZZ:OI / bab mqqurn	“father being old = grandfather”

#### d- *Verb + noun*

Under this form, the sequence is made up of a transitive verb and its direct object; the whole string is lexicalised.

U.O. .E. / waşl aman	“follows water = raccoon”
EKQE : / mkrd ul	“scratch heart = misery”
ΘMC .XX“OI / slm aggʷrn	“suck up flour = butterfly”
†.H KO. / ttay kra	“suffer from something = illnes”
KO EHH. / akr mllal	“steal white = off-white”

#### e- *Verb + verb*

We are dealing here with two adjacent verbs which behave syntactically as a single unit:

Thetaqqel xayso / brrm iyu	“turn it; it is burning = barbecue”
Thetaxs xlas / bbi zdi	“cut-stick = patched up and fixed”

### 3. Quality nouns

Quality nouns are generally derived from state or quality verbs. They can express a whole range of meanings such as an attribute, a quality, a peculiarity, a colour, a way of being, an imperfection, a form, an infirmity, a moral attitude and many others.

#### 3.1. The structure of quality nouns

The structure of quality nouns is in no way different from the structure of agentive and patient nouns. Deriving quality nouns is implemented along the following strategies:

*a- Prefixing o- / a- to the verbal theme along with a vocalic alternation in the penultimate position of the stem*

o.ayzzaf / ayzzaf	“tall”	xayzif / iyzif	“to be tall”
o.abrkan / abrkan	“black”	thetaq / brkn	“to be black”
o.adryal / adryal	“blind”	EQH / dryl	“to be blind”
o.awssar / awssar	“old”	UOZO / UOZO / UOZO // wssir / wsur / wsir	“to be old”

*b- Prefixing oL / am - ol / an to the verbal theme coupled with sporadic medial or final vocalic alterations*

o.anmyur / anmyur	“big, important”	myur / myur	“to be big, important”
o.anbur / anbur	“bachelor”	thetaq / bur	“to be a bachelor”
o.amllazu / amllazu	“hungry”	lluz / lluz	“to be hungry”
o.amggaru / amggaru	“last”	ggru / ggir / ggr	“to be the last”

**c- ئ-/ي- prefixation along with some internal vocalic alterations**

ئەئەئ / idili “black” ئەم / dlu “to be black”

**d- ئ-/ي- prefixation along with sporadic infixation of ئ-/ي-**

ۆخەئى / uxcin	“unkind, ugly”	خەئى / xcn	“to be unkind, ugly”
ۆئەئى / umlil	“white”	ئەئەئى / ئەلەئى // imlul / mlul	“to be white”
ۆئەئۆ / uqmir	“narrow”	ئەئۆ / qmr	“to be narrow”

### 3.2. Quality nouns uses

Morphologically, a quality noun functions in the same way as an ordinary noun. It takes gender markers (ەئەئەئ / amzwaru “the first (masc.)” > تەئەئەئ / tamzwarut “the first (fem.”), number markers (ەئەئەئ / amzwaru “the first (sing.)” > ئەئەئەئ / imzwura “the first (plr.)”) and state markers (ەئەئەئ / amzwaru “the first (FS)” > ئەئەئەئ / umzwaru “the first (CS)”).

A quality noun can either be preceded by the particle ئ / d “it is” or the copula ئ / g “to be”.

ئ / ئەئەئ / d amqqran.	“It is big.”
ئ / ئەئەئ / d awray.	“It is yellow.”
ئ / ئەئەئ / iga aşhan.	“He is handsome.”

As a noun modifier, a quality noun directly follows the modified noun with which it agrees in gender and number:

ەئەئەئ / amktar amlal	“the white horse”
تەئەئەئ / tafust tażlmađt	“the (small) left hand”
ئەئەئەئ / iħnjirn imzzyann	“the little children”

## 4. Numerals

Numerals have their own morphology and structure. They can, therefore, fill all the functions of an ordinary noun.

ԷԵՑԻ ԹՏԼ. / mmutn sin.	“Two died.”
ԿՇԵՎ ԲԲՔՄ. / zriy kkuz.	“I saw four.”
ԸԾՈՒՄ օՀ օԼԼ. / mrawt ay ann.	“It is ten (fem.).”

#### **4.1. Numbers from 1 to 10**

Not all Amazigh varieties have preserved the original numeral paradigms.

The numbers from 1 to 10 vary in gender; the feminine form obtains by adding the suffix **t- / t-** to the masculine form:

<u>Masc.</u>		<u>Fem.</u>	
⊕ ⊚ ⊚ ⊕ / smmus	>	⊕ ⊚ ⊚ ⊕ + / smmust	“five”
⊕ . ⊙ / sa	>	⊕ . + / sat	“seven”
⊕ ⊜ ⊙ / tam	>	⊕ ⊜ + / tamt	“eight”

The noun that follows any of the numerals from 1 to 10 surfaces in the plural form as set out below:

- |                                                          |                                                                       |
|----------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| KK:*(l) ΣΟΧ.ΧΙ /<br>kkuż (n) irgazn<br>“four men”        | > KK:*(l) + ΤΗ.ΟΣΙ /<br>kkużt (n) tmyarin<br>“four women”             |
| ΘΕΕ:Θ(l) ΣΕΛΕ.ΟΙ /<br>smmus (n) imħdaṛn<br>“five pupils” | > ΘΕΕ:Θ(l) + ΤΗ.Ε.ΟΙ /<br>smmust (n) tmħdaṛin<br>“five pupils” (fem.) |

### *Numerals list*

Masc.	Gloss	Fem.
Σοι, Σօi, ΣII / ΣΛI //	“one”	Σօt, Σօt, ΣCt / yat, yut, ict
ΘΣI / sin	“two”	ΘΙ.տ / snat
ΚQ.o.E, CQ.o.E / krad / craqd	“three”	ΚQ.o.Et, CQ.o.Et / kraqdt / craqdt
ΚΚ:✳ / kkuz	“four”	ΚΚ:✳t / kkuzt
ΘCCC:Θ / smmus	“five”	ΘCCC:Θt / smmust
ΘEΞΘ / sdiş	“six”	ΘEΞΘt / sdişt
Θ.○ / sa	“seven”	Θ.○t / sat
†.□ / tam	“eight”	†.□t / tamt
†✳.○ / tza	“nine”	†✳.○t / tzat
□O.□ / mraw	“ten”	□O.□t / mrawt

## 4.2. Numerals from 11 to 19

All the numerals from 11 to 19 are noun phrases made up of the numbers **៥** / yan (**៥៥** / yun, **៥៥៥** / **៥ᝠᝠ** // ijj / idj) to **†ᝠᝠ** / tza conjoined with the number **᜵ᝠᝠ** / mraw “ten” via the coordinator **Λ** / d “and”.

<b>៥ᝠᝠ</b> / <b>៥ᝠᝠ</b> / <b>᫚ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> // yan / yun / ijj d mraw	“eleven”
<b>ᤚᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / sin d mraw	“twelve”
<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / kraq d mraw	“thirteen”
<b>†ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / tza d mraw	“nineteen”

Nouns introduced by the preposition **ı** / n “of” always take the singular form:

<b>ᤚᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> <b>ı</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / sin d mraw n urgaz	“twelve men”
<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>ı</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / smmus d mrawt n tm̄at	“fifteen women”

If the numeral is followed by a feminine noun, the numbers of ones surface in the masculine form while the numbers of tens take the feminine marker:

Masc.	Fem.	
<b>៥ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / yan d mraw	<b>៥ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / yan d mrawt	“eleven”
<b>ᤚᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / sin d mraw	<b>ᤚᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / sin d mrawt	“twelve”
<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / kraq d mraw	<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / kraq d mrawt	“thirteen”
<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / kkuż d mraw	<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / kkuż d mrawt	“fourteen”
<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / smmus d mraw	<b>ᤚᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / smmus d mrawt	“fifteen”
<b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / şdiş d mraw	<b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / şdiş d mrawt	“sixteen”
<b>ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / sa d mraw	<b>ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / sa d mrawt	“seventeen”
<b>ᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / tam d mraw	<b>ᝠᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / tam d mrawt	“eighteen”
<b>†ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠ</b> / tza d mraw	<b>†ᝠᝠ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>᜵ᝠᝠᝠ</b> / tza d mrawt	“nineteen”

### 4.3. Numerals with values of tens

These numerals consist of phrases where numbers from **ΘΣΙ** / sin - **ΘΙ.+** / snat to **+ \***. / tza / - **+ \***.+ / tzat are conjoined to the number **EO.U** / mraw via the plural morpheme **ΣΛ** / id.

These numerals exhibit regular agreement with the gender of the noun that follows (the counted noun). The only numeral which holds as an exception is **+ΣΣΕΣ** / timidi (100); it is always observed in the feminine form only.

<b>ΘΣΙ ΣΛ EO.U</b> / sin id mraw	“twenty”
<b>KQ.E ΣΛ EO.U</b> / krad id mraw	“thirty”
<b>+ *. ΣΛ EO.U</b> / t <small>z</small> a id mraw	“ninety”
<b>+ΣΣΕΣ</b> / timidi	“a hundred”

### 4.4. Numbers greater than 20

The numbers of tens precede the numbers of ones to which they are associated by **Λ** / d “and”; the whole is linked to the counted noun through the preposition **Ι** / n “of”. The counted noun always surfaces in the singular form:

<b>ΘΣΙ ΣΛ EO.U Λ Θ. (Ι) :ΣΛΕ.Q</b> / sin id mraw d sa (n) umhdar	“twenty-seven students”
<b>KQ.E ΣΛ EO.U+ Λ Σ.+(Ι) +ΣΛΕ.Q+</b> / krad id mrawt d yat (n) tmhdart	“twenty-one students (fem.)”

**+ΣΣΕΣ** “a hundred” (plur. **+ΣΣΕΣ** / *timad* (FS) // **+ΣΣΕΣ** / *tmad* (CS))

The noun that follows **+ΣΣΕΣ** is always in the plural form and is introduced by the preposition **Ι** / n “of”:

<b>+ΣΣΕΣ Ι +ΣΣΕ.ΘΣΙ</b> / timidi n tfunasin	“a hundred cows”
<b>+ΣΣΕΣ Λ Σ.Ι</b> / timidi d yan	“a hundred and one”
<b>+ΣΣΕΣ Λ + *.Ι</b> / timidi d t <small>z</small> a	“a hundred and nine”
<b>+ΣΣΕΣ Λ ΘΣΙ ΣΛ EO.U</b> / timidi d sin id mraw	“a hundred and twenty”
<b>ΘΙ.+ +Σ.Ε</b> / snat t <small>z</small> ad	“two hundred”
<b>ΣΗΕ (plr. ΣΗΕ.Ι)</b> / ifd (plr. afdan)	“a thousand”
<b>+ΣΣΕΣ Ι Σ.ΗΕ.Ι</b> / timidi n wafdan	“a hundred thousand”

## 4.5 ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are nouns because they meet all the functions of ordinary nouns. They function also as modifiers of ordinary and kinship nouns. Ordinal numbers bifurcate into two types:

### a. The “first” and the “last”

The two ordinal numbers, “the first” and “the last”, are formed in the same fashion in which quality nouns are formed (i.e. with the prefixation of **•L** / **•l-** am / an).

<b>•L*</b> U.O: / amzwaru	“the first (masc. sing.)”	<b>+•L*</b> U.O:+ / tamzwarut	“the first (fem. sing.)”
<b>ξL*</b> U.O. / imzwura	“the first (masc. plr.)”	<b>+ξL*</b> U.O. / timzwura	“the first (fem. plr.)”

The ordinal number presented above is derived from the verb **\*U.O** / **\*UξO** – zwar / zwir “to precede, to be the first”.

<b>•LXX.O: / amggaru</b>	“the last (masc. sing.)”	<b>+•LXX.O:+ / tamggarut</b>	“the last (fem. sing.)”
<b>ξLXX.O. / imggura</b>	“the last (masc. plr.)”	<b>+ξLXX.O. / timggura</b>	“the last (fem. plr.)”

The afore-mentioned ordinal number is derived from the verb **XXO: / XXξO / XXO** – ggru / ggir / ggr “to lag behind, to be the last”.

### b. Ordinal numbers from “second” and on

To the exception of *last*, ordinal numbers that come after *first* consist of cardinal numbers (see above) preceded by the supporting determination morpheme **UξΘ** / wis “the one with (masc.)” or **+ξΘ** / tis “the one with (fem.)”.

<b>UξΘ / wis + figure (in masc. form)</b>
<b>UξΘ KQ.E / wis krad</b> “the third (masc.)”
<b>+ξΘ / tis + figure (in fem. form)</b>
<b>+ξΘ KQ.E+ / tis kradt</b> “the third (fem.)”

## 4.6. Fractions

To the exception of **•\*X1** / azgn “half”, there is no specific term for fractions. The numerals for double, triple, quadruple, etc. are expressed by resorting to periphrasis.

<b>၁၂။ ၁၀</b> (၅) + <b>နှေ့</b> / + <b>တဲ့</b> // xf snat (n) tikkal / twal	“twice”
<b>၁၂။ ၁၁</b> (၅) + <b>နှေ့</b> / + <b>တဲ့</b> // xf mrawt (n) tikkal / twal	“ten times”

## 5. The noun phrase

The noun phrase may well be viewed as a syntactic structure which consists of a central nominal unit flanked or not by modifying or determining elements. It meets all the syntactic functions of a noun, and it can be substituted by a pronoun (free or bound).

The noun phrase can be:

- a noun (common, proper or kinship noun);
- a quality noun;
- an indefinite pronoun;
- an independent personal pronoun;
- a demonstrative pronoun;
- a numeral;
- a possessive pronoun.

All the elements set out above can surface separately or adjoined to other modifiers and determiners. Only noun phrases with a predicative function can surface as separate units.

Noun modifiers and determiners may be laid out as follows:

- pre-determiners: indefinite morphemes, cardinal numbers, presenters, predators and quantifiers;
- post-determiners: possessive morphemes, determining complements (genitive), demonstrative deictics, quality nouns (adjectives), modifying participials and relative pronouns.

### 5.1. Noun phrases without determination

#### a. Predicative use

We talk of predicative use when the noun phrase is a predicate without any determiners or specifiers around. In this form, the noun phrase is used in truncated expressions, particularly as an answer to a question.

- Noun:

◦ΛΗΞΘ / adlis	“book = It is the book.”
†ΣΗΞΗ / tilila	“Tilila = It is Tilila.”
ΣΘΘ / ibba	“my father = It is my father.”

- Quality noun:

◦Χ.+.Ο / axatar “the big = It is the big one.”

- An independent personal pronoun:

ΚΙΙΣΛ / knniw “you (plr.) = It is you.”

- A demonstrative pronoun:

↔.Λ / wad “this one = It is this one.”

- Numeral (noun)

↔Ο.↔ / mraw “ten = It is ten.”

### b. Use with the predicate Λ / d

All nouns can be preceded by predicating Λ / d when they are used as nominal predicates (*cf. section 8.1.2*).

Λ ◦ΛΗΞΘ. / d adlis.	“It is the book.”
Λ ◦Χ.+.Ο. / d axatar.	“It is the big one.”
Λ ΚΙΙΣΛ. / d knniw.	“It is you.”
Λ ↔.Λ. / d wad.	“It is this one.”
Λ ↔Ο.↔. / d mraw.	“It is ten.”

In negative structures, the noun phrase with predicating Λ / d is preceded by the negative particle :Ο / ur.

:Ο Λ ◦ΛΗΞΘ. / ur d adlis.	“It is not the / a book.”
:Ο Λ ◦Χ.+.Ο. / ur d axatar.	“It is not the big one.”
:Ο Λ ↔.Λ. / ur d wad.	“It is not this one.”

## 5.2. Noun phrases with determiners or specifiers

### a. Defined noun phrases

Counter to other languages that have distinct definite articles (Arabic: *al*, French: *le / la*, English: *the*, etc.), Amazigh lacks such morphemes. The definiteness of Amazigh NPs does not ensue from the function of the initial vowel of the noun, which is usually construed as a definite article. In fact, a vowel-initial noun may well be indefinite if it is preceded by the indefinite morpheme which has the same form of the numeral **↙ol** / yan (also ↉ol / yun or ↉II / ijj) “one (masc.)” and its variant feminine form **↙ot** / yat (also ↉ot / yut or ↉Ct / ict) “one (fem.)”

↙OΣΛ / abrid	“way, road”
↙II (l) :ΘΟΣΛ / ijj (n) ubrid	“one way, one road”

The definiteness of NPs may also be expressed through other processes such as the semantism of nouns (proper nouns, place nouns, kinship nouns, etc.) and other noun extensions (possessive pronouns, noun complements, quality nouns, qualifying participles and relative clauses).

As for non-integrated words that are borrowed from Arabic (both classical and dialectal Arabic), they retain their definite article **W / l** which is no longer interpreted as such. In fact, despite the presence of the article **W / l**, the definiteness of these nouns is canceled by the introduction of the indefinite masculine and feminine singular numerals **↙ol** / yan, ↉ol / yun and ↉II / ijj and **↙ot** / yat, ↉ot / yut and ↉Ct / ict.

↙ol WΖ.ΕΣ / yan lqađi	“a judge”
↙Ct WΖ.ΖΕΙ. / ict n lmakina	“a machine”

### b. Indefinite NP

As mentioned before, the indefinite meaning of an NP is the result of determining the noun by an indefinite morpheme, i.e. **↙ol** / yan, ↉ol / yun, ↉II / ijj and **↙ot** / yat, ↉ot / yut, ↉Ct / ict, or by a number of other morphemes that express indefiniteness, partition, uncertainty, etc. (**KO.** / kra, **C.** / ca):

↙ol :OΘ. / yan urba	“a boy”
↙Ct I +OΘ. / ict n trbat	“a girl”

ΣΙΙ (l) : ΚΟΕ:Κ / ijj (n) uhrmuc	“a boy”
ΚΟ。I + ΚΥ.Ο† / kra n tmyart	“some woman”
Κ。I ΣΣΧΙΞ / ca n yizli	“some poem”

### c. NP introduced by a presenter

Depending on the predicate, an NP may consist of a nominal entity (noun, independent pronoun or affix) preceded by a presenter or a morpheme with a demonstrative or deictic value. These presenters may be combined with space orientation particles, i.e. proximity (Λ / d) and remoteness (ΙΙ / nn) particles.

Φ。.ΕΥ.Ο / ha amyar “Here is the chief.”	Φ。Λ + ΣΟΘ。+ ΣΙ / ha d tirbatin “Here are the girls.”
Φ。ΖΖ。+ .ΕΕ:Ε† / haqqa tamtuqt “Here is the woman.”	Φ。ΙΙ + .ΕΕ:Ε† / ha nn tamtuqt “There is the woman.”
Φ。ΙΚΙΞ / ha nkni	“Here we are.”
Φ。.Λ / ha wad	“Here is this one.”
Φ。.ΛΣΙΞ / ha winu	“Here is mine”
Φ。+† / ha tt	“Here is it. / It is here.”

### d. Noun topicalizers

- *Topicalizers employed with the morpheme οΣ / ay and οΛ / ad*

A topicalized NP is made up of a nominal (noun or independent pronoun) preceded or not by the predicator Λ / d and followed or not by a topicalizer like ΙΣ† / nit “even, in person”, ΟΚΚ“ / akkʷ “all”, Κ。/ ka “only” or Θ ΣΣΧΙΞ ΙΙΘ。/ Θ ΣΖΟΟ: ΙΙΘ。/ Λ.ΑΛ:† // s yixf nns / s uqrnu nns / wahdut “by himself / herself, only”. A number of topicalizers, including Υ.Θ (Χ.Θ) / yas (xas), precede the nominal. The topicalizer is obligatorily correlated with the morpheme οΣ / ο // ay / a, and followed by a relative clause without a relative pronoun. The two elements may well be viewed as the par excellence discontinuous morpheme of topicalization in Amazigh. These topicalizers are adverbial in nature. They are also used as predicate modifiers in verbal phrases.

Λ ..... οΣ // d ..... ay

(Λ) οΙ*Ο.Ο οΣ ο(Λ). / (d) anṣar ay a(d).	“Rain is this. = It rains.”
---------------------------------------------	-----------------------------

(Λ) ◊[ΛΣ]◊[Χ] ◊[Σ]◊[Σ]◊[+]. / (d) amdyaz ay immutn.	“It is the poet that was dead.”
:◊ Λ ◊[ΘΩΣΛ]◊[Σ] ◊(Λ)! / ur d abrid ay a(d)!	“This is not the right road!”
:◊ Λ ◊[ΛΣ]◊[Χ] ◊[Σ]◊[Σ]◊[+]. / ur d amdyaz ay immutn.	“It is not the poet that was dead.”

#### • Στοιχεία / nit ay

“It is the teacher himself who saw him.”

„Ἄλλοι οἱ χιονοπτώσεις / adfl akk<sup>w</sup> ay iðrn. “It is snow that fell.”

• ፻፭፻፯, ፻፭፻፱ / Ka ay, yas ay

ΣΛΗΛΛΩΗ Ρο. οΣ ΣΞΘ. / ihllaln ka ay gis.	“He is always lying.”
Το. ΣΞΙΛΣ. οΣ ΡΟΧΙ. / yas imndi ay krzn.	“They have cultivated wheat only.”

• ◎ SEXH ||○ .ጀ / ○ :KOO: ||○ .ጀ // s yixf nns ay / s uqrru nns ay

amyar s yixf nns ay d iddan.  
“The chief came in person.”

• Ուղած / օղած օժ // wahdut / uhdu ay

امنیت این روزاتو  
amnay uhdut ay d yusin.  
“The knight came alone.”

### • o[ ... o\\$ / am ... ay

•Ը ։ ՒԹՅՈ ։ Օ ՏԱՄԱՅ. / am aeban a ur illi.	“You cannot find this sort of clothes anywhere.”
•Ը ։ ԽԸ ։ ՕԴ ։ Ա Զ Ա Կ Յ Օ Ծ. / am tagmart ad ay d yurs.	“He has a mare like this one .”

- Other topicalizers: **•X / ag**, **•Mo / ula**, **Xt+o / htta**, **•UΛ / awd** “even”, **•εl / man**, **•Uɔl / wan**

•ԱՅ ՅԵՅ ՏՅՈՅ / awd umas irah.	“Even his brother went.”
ԸՆԴ Յ Ի ԿՈՅՆ ՅՈ ԿՅՈՅ ՏՅՈՅ / mqar d aerrim ur yurs yiwd.	“Not even a single young man has paid him a visit.”

### e. Numeral determiners

The numeral phrase falls under two categories: a noun phrase consisting of a cardinal number and a noun, and a noun phrase consisting of a noun and an ordinal number (*cf.* 3.4.5).

- *NP with a cardinal number*

Under this category, the noun is determined by a cardinal number with which it agrees in gender and number. In this context, the noun appears in the construct state.

ՏԻ (I) ՅՎՈՂՅ / ijj (n) uyrda	“a mouse”
ՏԾԻ Ի ԻՎՈՂՅՏ / ict n tyrdayt	“a small mouse”
ՅՅԻ (I) ՏԿՈԵՑՅ / sin (n) i流氓cn	“two boys”
ՏԼՈՒ (I) ՏԿՈԵՑՅ / snat (n) thrmucin	“two girls”

- *NP with an ordinal number*

Under this category, the NP is made up of a noun and an ordinal number. Ordinal numbers function as lexical determiners or modifiers of nouns to which they are attached, in the same fashion in which quality nouns (adjectives) modify nouns.

ՅԵԽ ՅԵԽՈՅ / amnay amzwaru	“the first knight”
ՏՅՈՅԽ ՏՅՈՅԽՈՅ / tafruxt tamzwarut	“the first girl”
ՏՅԹ ՏՅԹՈՅ / iysan imzwura	“the first horses”
ՏՅԿ ՏՅԿՈՅ / tiyallin timzwura	“the first mares”
ՅՅՈՅ ՅՅՈՅՈՅ / ussan imggura	“the last days”
ՏՅՀ ՏՅՀՈՅ / tifawin timggura	“the last light”

The NP consisting of a noun and an ordinal number may also take the shape of a noun modified or determined by a participial verb derived from the numerals ՅԵԽՈՅ / amzwaru and ՅՅՈՅՈՅ / amggaru. Under this display, the verb agrees only in number with the noun it modifies.

•ԸԼօՏ ԷԽԱԾ.ՕԻ / ԷԽԱԾԷՕԻ // amnay izwarn / izwirn	“the first knight”
†.ԷՈՅ.Խ+ ԷԽԱԾ.ՕԻ / ԷԽԱԾԷՕԻ // tafruxt izwarn / izwirn	“the first girl”
ԷՏԹ.Օ ՄԱԾ.ՕԻՏ   / iysan zwurnin	“the first horses”
†ԷԿ.ՈՒՄՏ. ՄԱԾ.ՕԻՏ   / tiyallin zwurnin	“the first mares”
•ԸՀԵ.Ը ԷԽԱԾ.Օ.Ի / ԷԽԱԾ.ԷՕ.Ի // amhđar igg <sup>w</sup> ran / igg <sup>w</sup> irn	“the last student”
†.ԸՀԵ.Ը.Ը ԷԽԱԾ.Օ.Ի / ԷԽԱԾ.ԷՕ.Ի // tamhđart igg <sup>w</sup> ran / igg <sup>w</sup> irn	“the last student (fem.)”
։ԸԾ.Օ ԷԽԱԾ.Օ.ԻՏ   / ԷԽԱԾ.ԷՕ.ԻՏ   // ussan igg <sup>w</sup> ranin / igg <sup>w</sup> irnin	“the last days”
†.ԸՀ.Ը.Ը ԷԽԱԾ.Օ.ԻՏ   / ԷԽԱԾ.ԷՕ.ԻՏ   // tifawin igg <sup>w</sup> ranin / igg <sup>w</sup> irnin	“the last light”

The NPs with ordinal numbers, to the exception of •ԸԿԱԾ.Օ.Յ / amzwaru “first” and •ԸԽԱԾ.Օ.Յ / amggaru “last”, are made up of cardinal numbers (*cf.* 3.4.5.b) preceded by the morphemes ԱԽԾ.Օ. / wis- or †ԷԾ.Օ. / tis- (the morphemes may sometimes surface as ԱԽԾ.Օ.Յ / wiss- or †ԷԾ.Օ.Յ / tiss-). In the forms laid out below, the ordinal numerals precede the nouns that they determine; when such display is observed, the nouns always hold in the plural form.

ԱԽԾ.Օ.Յ Ք.Ք.Յ ( ) ԷԾ.Ա.Տ   / wiss krad (n) imnayn	“the third knight”
†ԷԾ.Օ.Յ Ք.Ք.Յ.Ե+ ( ) †ԷԾ.Ա.Տ.Յ.Է.Յ   / tiss kradt (n) tmidyazin	“the third poem”

The ordinal numerals may also follow the nouns they determine. When such a scenario holds, the nouns are singular and take the free state form.

•ԸԼօՏ ԱԽԾ.Օ.Յ Ք.Ք.Յ / amnay wiss krad	“the third knight”
†.ԸԾ.Ա.Տ.Յ.Է.Յ †ԷԾ.Օ.Յ Ք.Ք.Յ.Ե+ / timdyazin tiss kradt	“the third poems / poetess”

#### f. NPs with quantifiers

This category of NPs consists of a quantifier followed by a noun usually in the plural form; the two units are directly juxtaposed or linked by the preposition լ / n or the predication morpheme Ա / d.

- **𠁻𠁼𠁻 (l) / mnnaw (n)** “many”

ΕΠΙ.Π (Ι) ΣΧΟΛΙΑ Η Η.Ο.

mnnaw (n) ifrxan ad yurs

"He has many children."

- **EICR**  $\wedge$  / mnck d “many, a lot of”

$\Sigma C R \wedge \Sigma Q \in I / mnck d iqaridn$  “a lot of money”

- **KΛ.Λ / kda d, .ΕΕ.Θ / attaş n, +Χ+ / tugt n, ΚΞΘ.Λ / | // kigan d / n, ΘΧΧ.Χ / bzzaf n, .ΧΙΙΞΟ / aznnir n** “many, a lot of”

କାଳେ ଲେଖାଇ / kada d middn	“many people”
ଅୟିଶିତମନ୍ତ୍ରିମ୍ବି / aṭṭaś n tmllalin	“many eggs”
ଅୟିଶିକ୍ଷାଲେଖକାଳି / aṭṭaś n imddukkal	“many friends”
ତୋଷିତିଲୁଙ୍ଗା / tugt n wawal	“too much talk”
ରେଖାଳୀଖାନ୍ଦିତି / kigan n idlisp	“a lot of books”
ଥିକ୍ଷାକ୍ଷାନ୍ତିମନ୍ତ୍ରିମ୍ବି / bzzaf n ihllalin	“a lot of lies”
ପାତାକ୍ଷାନ୍ତିମନ୍ତ୍ରିମ୍ବି / aznnir n uyrum	“a lot of bread”

- ○**Ct** Λ / anct d, Η○ΣΛ Λ / yayd d “many”

ଓଚ୍ଛା ଅନ୍ତର୍ମୁଖୀ / anct tmuryi	“many crickets”
ବୁଦ୍ଧା ଅନ୍ତର୍ମୁଖୀ / yayd izgarn	“big cattle”
ଓଚ୍ଛା ବୁଦ୍ଧା / anct uya n udfl	“a lot of snow”

- ئەل / qaε, ئەل / qah “all”

ወ.ሮ ተኩለዎች / qae middn	“all the people”
ወ.ሮ ይօቻዎች / qah irgazn	“all the men”
ወ.ሮ ይሰራዎች / qah isiwann	“all the eagles”

- **K<sup>ø</sup>** / ku, **K<sup>ø</sup>H** / kul, **K<sup>ø</sup>A** / kud “every”

𠂊И +Կ.ԱՒ / kul tagmart	“each mare”
ԿՈՒ +Կ.ԱՐ / ku tamyart	“each woman”
ՄԿՈՒ +Կ.ԱՐ / mkul asgg <sup>w</sup> as	“each year”

### *g. NPs with partitives*

- **KO.** / kra n, **CO.** / ca n “some”

Ca   tħħss.威 / ca n teyyalin	“some women / girls”
Ca   ΣΙΛΛ.威 / can n iwdan	“some people”

- ΛΟ:Θ | / drus n, ΣΙΣΚ | / imikk n, ΚΠ.ΣΤ | / cwayt n, ΜΘΗΕ | / lbed n “a little, some”

ΛΟ:Θ   ΣΧΟΣΟ.   / drust n izriran	“little make-up”
ΣΙΣΚ   ΤΣΘΗ   / imik n tisnt	“little salt”
ΚΠ.ΣΤ   ΣΙΛΛ.   / cwayt n iwzan	“little wheat semolina”
ΜΘΗΕ   ΣΙΛΛ.   / lbed n iwdan	“some people”

#### *h. NPs with morphemes of otherness: Σ.ΕΙΣΙ / yađnin, Σ.ΕΙ / yađn, ΙΣΕΙ / niđn “other”*

The determiner Σ.ΕΙΣΙ / yađnin (and its variants) is post-posed to the noun it refers to.

ΞΘΘ.   Σ.ΕΙΣΙ / ussan yađnin	“the other days”
ΤΣΗΣΣ.威   Σ.ΕΙ / tieyyalin yađn	“the other women”
Ξ.Μ.Μ.   ΙΣΕΙ / mullu niđn	“another time”
Ξ.Μ.Τ.Θ.   ΙΣΕΙ / ultmas niđn	“his / her other sister”

#### *i. NPs with demonstrative determiners*

A demonstrative NP consists of a noun determined by a demonstrative morpheme expressing proximity Λ / d “by here”, remoteness Ι / n “there” or absence ΙΙ. / nna “in question”. The demonstrative morphemes have a deictic locative value in the sense that they specify the time and space where the noun is located, i.e. whether it is near, far or absent. They confer a value of definiteness to the noun. These morphemes fall under three types; they are laid out in what follows:

- Λ / ad (or one of its reduced forms ο / a, ο : / u ) to express proximity:

◦ΘΟΣΛ Λ / ◦ΘΟΣΛ ο / ◦ΘΟΣΛ ο :  
abrid ad / abrid a / abrid u  
“this way, path”

- ΙΙ / ann, ΣΙΙ / inn to express remoteness:

◦ΘΟΣΛ ΙΙ / ◦ΘΟΣΛ ΣΙΙ  
abrid ann / abrid inn  
“that way, path”

- **ወዢ / እን / እና / እው / እና** to express absence:

◦ወዢል ወዢ / ◦ወዢል ወና / ◦ወዢል ወዢ  
abrid nni / abrid nna / abrid lli  
“the path in question”

#### *j. Genitive NP: the noun and its complement*

The genitive NP expresses possession. It consists of a noun (or one of its substitutes) followed by the genitive presposition **፣** / **ነ** “of” and another noun or pronominal complement.

ተለለዎች ተለለዎች / taddart n tima	“the house of my maternal grandfather”
ተለለዎች ተለለዎች / taddart nns	“his / her house”
ተለለዎች ተለለዎች / taddart nny	“our house”

#### *k. NPs with quality nouns*

This sort of NP consists of a noun and a quality noun. The quality noun defines and provides specifications about the quality and state of the noun it modifies:

እሮዴዎች የዴጂዴዎች / iħnjirn imzzyann      “young boys”  
ተደተዴዎች ተደተዴዎች / titbirin tumlilin      “white doves”

#### *l. NPs with a relative clause*

This sort of NP is definite and bifurcates into three categories:

- **Without a relative pronoun**

◦ሳለስ ይርሱ፡፤ / aydi immutn	“the dog which is dead”
◦ኦቻ ይርሱ፡ለላ፤ / arba immuddan	“the child who has travelled”
ተደረገዎች የዴጂዴዎች / tinml irzmn	“The school which is open”

- **Antecedent (subject) + relative pronoun + participle**

◦ሳለስ ወዢ ይርሱ፡፤ / aydi lli immutn	“the dog which is dead”
◦ኦቻ ሌዴ ይርሱ፡ለላ፤ / arba da immuddan	“the child who has travelled”
ተደረገዎች ወዢ የዴጂዴዎች / tinml nni i irzmn	“ the school which is open”

- Antecedent (object, complement) + relative pronoun + conjugated verb

ՀՅԱ ՏՎԿԴԻ ԽԵՆ ՀԱՅ

yufa talymt nni ya izzg.

"He found the she-camel to milk."

isva tigmmi lli s ar ittwarga

"He bought the house in which he has always dreamt."

### 5.3 NP and coordination

An NP may consist of two nouns linked to each other by a coordinating morpheme. This sort of NPs meets all the functions of a noun.

The most commonly used morpheme of coordination in Amazigh is  $\wedge$  / d “and, with”:

ተ.ቋዎዕስ ለ የሆኑ / taggʷllā d uyu	“porridge and milk”
ሻጋዕርድ ለ ተወስኗል / iħrmuċn d trbatin	“the boys and the girls”
ተ.ረደድት ለ በለሳ / tammemt d wudi	“honey and butter”
ከሩሪ ለ በለሳ / nkkin d wuma	“my brother and me”
ከተማ ለ የወሰን ለ / nttni d uslmađ	“they and the teacher”

Coordinators include also:

- Coordinators used to choose between two alternatives:  $\text{I}\mathcal{U}(\Lambda)$  /  $\text{ny}(d)$ ,  $\text{I}\mathfrak{X}\mathcal{U}(\Lambda)$  /  $\text{niy}(d)$ ,  $\mathbb{C}_o(\Lambda)$  /  $\text{ma}(d)$  “or”:

◦⦿⦿◦  Ny A◦⦿⦿◦ / assa ny d askka	“Today or tomorrow?”
◦✽✽◦Ny Ny A◦✽✽◦ / azgg <sup>way</sup> niy d awray	“The red or the yellow?”
◦Λ◦Λ◦Λ t◦Λ / wad ma d tad	“This one or that one?”

- Coordinators with a cumulative value: **¶mo** / **ula** “and, too”

ዶ የወያዥ አድራሻ ተናገኝ ይመት / irgazn ula tieyyalin	“the men and the women, too”
ሙሉ የወያዥ አድራሻ ተናገኝ ይመት / anzar ula adfl	“rain and snow, too”



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **The pronoun**

The pronoun stands for any unit that can be substituted by a noun or a noun phrase. Its prime function is to avoid the repetition of a noun by acting as a replacement of this noun in a phrase.

Pronouns include:

- personal pronouns;
- possessive pronouns;
- demonstrative pronouns;
- interrogative pronouns;
- indefinite pronouns.

#### **1. Personal pronouns**

A personal pronoun may take a variety of forms on the basis of the function it has in the phrase: subject pronoun (affix or independent), direct object, indirect object, object of a preposition or noun complement (ordinary or of kinship). Each set of pronouns has six person forms: three in singular and three in plural. Personal pronouns bifurcate into two categories: independent pronouns and affix pronouns or clitics.

##### **1.1. Independent or autonomous personal pronouns**

Independent pronouns, dubbed also autonomous pronouns, behave as NPs and have all their functions. Independent pronouns may function as:

- a subject (topic indicator)

ለለሄዎች / ddiy nkki.	“I, myself, went.”
ለለሄዎች / nkki ddiy.	“I went.”

- a predicate of a non-verbal phrase

Λ <b>I</b> tt. / d nttat.	“It is her.”
:O Λ <b>I</b> tt. / ur d nttat.	“It is not her.”

Not unlike the NP, an independent pronoun may be emphasized and, thereby, moved to an initial position of a sentence as much as it can be left at the end. It can also be used to highlight a subject or object clitic pronoun.

RKΣI, O.ΛΥ. / nkkin, rahy.	“I, myself, went.”
O.ΛΥ,  RKΣI. / rahy, nkkin.	“I went.”
Itt., ΘΘΙΨ tt. / nttat, ssny tt.	“She, I know her.”
ΘΘΙΨ tt, Itt. / ssny tt, nttat.	“I know her, (she).”

The independent pronoun is characterised by the diversity of its forms. It can take a simple form (RK / nkk “me”, ΚΕ / km “you, fem.”) or a full form (RKΣI / nkkin, ΚΚΣΙ / kmmin). At the phonetic level, the pronouns' occlusive consonants may well take the form of fricatives, a case observed, for instance, in the first singular person pronoun (RK / nkk → ΚΞ / ncc).

*Table 1: Independent personal pronouns*

	Masculine	Feminine
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: RK / nkk «I, me» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ΚΣ / kyy «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: I <tt>.t.</tt> / ntta «he»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: RK / nkk «I, me» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ΚΚ / kmm «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: I <tt>.t.</tt> / nttat «she»
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: RKΣ / nkkni «we» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ΚΙΣ / knni «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: I <tt>.t.</tt> Σ, I <tt>.t.</tt> Σ // nttni, ntnin «they»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: RKΣ <tt>t</tt> , RKΣ <tt>t</tt> // nkknti, nkknint «we» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: ΚΙΣ <tt>t</tt> , ΚΙΣ <tt>t</tt> // knnint, knninti «you» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: I <tt>.t.</tt> Σ <tt>t</tt> , I <tt>.t.</tt> Σ <tt>t</tt> // nttnti, ntnint «they»

As regards the first and second person, a whole range of other forms are observed:

1<sup>st</sup> person:

*sing.* : Κ / nc, ΚΞ / nic

*masc. plr.* : ΚΙΣ / ncni, ΚΚΣΙ / nccin, ΚΙΣΙ / ncni

*fem. plr.* : ΚΚΣΙt / nccint, ΚΙΣt / ncint

### 2<sup>nd</sup> person:

*masc. sing.: KSSS / kyyi, CKK / ckk, CXX / cgg*

*fem. sing.: CE / cm, KCCSI / kmmin, KCCSIS / kmmini*

*masc. plr.: KIIΣU / knniw, KIIΣIS / knnuni*

*fem. sing.: KIIΣC+ / knnimt*

### 3<sup>rd</sup> person:

*masc. plr.: IΣ+IS (IΣΦIS) / nitni (nihni), Σ+IS / titni*

*fem. plr.: IIΣ+ISI+ / nnitnint*

## **1.2. Affixal personal pronouns**

Affixal personal pronouns stand for noun substitutes that are cliticised to verbs or affixed to nouns and prepositions. They stand out from independent pronouns by not having the same syntactic characteristics of the NPs they substitute. We can, therefore, say:

KCCS, *QΣΨ +. / hmmu, zriy t	“Hemmou, I have seen him.”
I++o, *QΣΨ +. / ntta, zriy t.	“(He), I have seen him.”

But we cannot say:

\*+, \*QΣΨ +. / \*t, zriy t.      “\*him, I have seen him.”

### *a. Subject affixal pronouns*

Under this category, subject affixal pronouns, dubbed also person markers, are affixed to the stem of the verb. To the exception of the participle, any verbal form, obligatorily, has a person marker which is linked to its stem.

Depending on the person, the affixal pronoun may either be prefixed: Σ / i... (3<sup>rd</sup> masc. sing.), + / t... (3<sup>rd</sup> fem. sing.), | / n... (1<sup>st</sup> plr.), suffixed: ...Ψ / γ (1<sup>st</sup> sing.), ...| / n (3<sup>rd</sup> masc. plr.) ...+ / nt (3<sup>rd</sup> fem. plr.), or discontinuous: + / t...+ / Λ // t / d (2<sup>nd</sup> sing.), + / t...C / m (2<sup>nd</sup> masc. plr.) and + / t...C+ / mt (2<sup>nd</sup> fem. plr.). The first singular or plural person as well as the second singular person do not exhibit any gender change. Put in another way, the affix pronoun does not change if the speaker is masculine or feminine.

Two sorts of personal pronouns are observed: the first can be used with all verbal moods except the imperative (*cf. Table 1, 5.1.2*), while the second is limited to the imperative mood only (*cf. Table 2, 5.1.2*).

### *b. Affixal pronouns that refer to the object*

Amazigh recognises two sorts of object pronouns: direct object pronouns and indirect object pronouns. These pronouns may well precede or follow the verb depending on the presence or absence of certain morphemes, such as aspectual particles, negation and interrogation tools as well as subordinate conjunctions.

<p>•Λ •ΛΙ Λ •ΛΣΙ •Λοι. / ad awn d awin aman. “They will bring you water.”</p>	
ΣΘΛο t. / iswa t.	“He drank it.”
◊Ο + ΣΘΛΣ. / ur t iswi.	“He did not drink it.”
ΣΘ + ΣΘΛο ? / is t iswa ?	“Did he drink it?”
<p>Σ:Σο .Θ t. / yuca as t.</p>	
◊Ο .Θ + Σ:ΣΣ. / ur as t yuci.	“He did not give it to him.”
ΣΘ .Θ + Σ:Σο ? / is as tyuca ?	“Did he give it to him ?”

*Table 2: Direct and indirect object pronouns*

Direct object pronouns		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ΣΣΣ / iyi 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: Κ / k 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: t / t	ΣΣΣ / iyi ΚΛ / km tt / tt
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ο(I)Η / a(n)y 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: Κ"Ι / ΛΙ // kʷn / wn 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ΗΙ / tn	ο(I)Η / a(n)y Κ"Η / kʷnt // ΛΗ / wnt ΗΗ / tnt

Indirect object pronouns		
	Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ΣΣΣ / iyi 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: οΚ / ak 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: Θ / as	ΣΣΣ / iyi οΛ / am ΘΟ / as
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: ο(I)Η / a(n)y 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: οΚ"Ι / ΛΙ // akʷn / awn 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ΘΙ / asn	ο(I)Η / a(n)y οΚ"Η / ΛΗ // akʷnt / awnt ΘΗ / asnt

Irrespective of the nature of the sentence (affirmative, negative, interrogative or exclamative), the indirect object pronoun always precedes the direct object pronoun.

*Affirmative sentence:*

verb + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron.

॥៥᭟ ॥ୠି + / nniy asn t.                  “I told it to them.”

*Negative sentence:*

neg. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

୧୦ ॥ୠି + ॥៥᭟ / ur asn t nniy.        “I did not tell it to them.”

*Interrogative sentence:*

interro. + indir. obj. pron. + dir. obj. pron. + verb

៥ୠ ॥ୠି + ॥୮ୟ ? /  
is asn t tnnam ?                  “Did you tell it to them?”

The yes / no interrogative morpheme ॥୮ୟ / ma “is / are / have etc. ....?”, a free variant of ៥ୠ / is, does not engender the movement of object personal pronouns to a position before the verb.

୮ୟ ॥୯୯୯ ॥ୠି ? / ma siwln asn ?        “Did they talk to them ?”

### c. Pronouns acting as a noun complement

The pronoun which behaves as a noun complement always follows the noun it specifies irrespective of the syntactic context in which the noun is used.

ତୋଳାୟୋତ ॥ର / taddart nnk	“your (masc.) house”
ତୋଳାୟୋତ ॥୯ / taddart nnm	“your (fem.) house”
୦ୟୁସ୍ୟୋତ ॥୧୦ / argaz nns	“her husband”
ତୋଳ୍ୟୋତ ॥୧୦ / tamyart nns	“his wife”

The nouns ତୋଳାୟୋତ / taddart (fem.), ଓୟୁସ୍ୟୋତ / argaz (masc.) and ତୋଳ୍ୟୋତ / tamyart (fem.) do not impose their gender markers on the pronoun.

The form of the pronoun varies depending on the nature of the noun it specifies, i.e. if it is a kinship or an ordinary noun. Interestingly, kinship nouns cannot exist without a pronominal complement.

*Table 3: Ordinary and kinship pronominal complements*

		Ordinary possessive pronominal complements	
		Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers:	ΣΙΩ / inu	ΣΙΩ / inu
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers:	ΙΙΚ / ΣΙΚ // nnk / ink	ΙΙΚ / ΣΙΚ // nnm / inm
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers:	ΙΙΘ / ΣΙΘ // nns / ins	ΙΙΘ / ΣΙΘ // nns / ins
	1 <sup>st</sup> pers:	ΙΙΨ / nny	ΙΙΨ / nny
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers:	ΙΙΩΙ / ΙΙΨΚ // nnun / nnwm	ΙΙΩΙ / ΙΙΨΚ // nnunt / nnwmt
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers:	ΙΙΘΙ / nnsn	ΙΙΘΙ / nnsnt
Plr.			

		Kinship possessive pronominal complements	
		Masc.	Fem.
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers:	- Ø	- Ø
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers:	- Κ / -κ	- Κ / -m
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers:	- Θ / -s	- Θ / -s
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers:	- ΗΨ / -tny	- ΗΨ / tny
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers:	- ΤΩΙ / -tun	- ΤΩΙ / -tunt
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers:	- ΤΘΙ / -tsn	- ΤΘΙ / -tsnt

In the first person, the pronoun that follows the kinship noun is covert and, therefore, not realized.

Θ.Θ. / baba	“my father, dad”
ΞΗΤΕ. / ultma	“my sister”

#### *d. Affixal pronouns acting as objects of prepositions*

Not unlike verbs and nouns, prepositions may well have affixal pronominal objects. To the exception of the preposition Σ / i “to, for” whose pronominal complement takes the form of an indirect object, all the other prepositions have identical pronominal object forms.

*Table 4: affixal pronouns of prepositions*

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: Σ / -i 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: Κ / -k 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: Θ / -s	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: Σ / -i 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: Λ / -m 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: Θ / -s
Plr.	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: -ΙΥ / ny 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: -ΙΛ / ol // wm / un 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ΘΙ / sn	1 <sup>st</sup> pers: -ΙΥ / ny 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers: -ΙΛΤ / olt // wmt / unt 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers: ΘΙΤ / snt

In writing, the preposition and its pronominal complement or object are united (ΥΟΘ / yours, ΛΟΘ / dars “at his or her house / place”). It is also worthwhile to mention that most prepositions change their form when they are conjoined with a pronoun.

ΣΗΗ. Χ ΣΕΩΣΣΟ. / illa g imuzzar. ΣΗΗ. ΧΣΘ / illa gis.	“He is in Imuzzar.” “He is in it.”
ΣΗΗΥ ΖΣ ΣΙΩΛ. / iffy zi mnud. ΣΗΗΧ ΖΣΧΘ. / iffy zigs.	“He left Mnoud.” “He left it.”

The preposition Σ / i stands as an exception, as formerly explained, because it can only be followed by an indirect object pronoun.

ΘΘΞΠΗΥ Σ +ΣΥ.Οτ. / ssiwly i tmyart. ΘΘΞΠΗΥ .Θ. / ssiwly as.	“I talked to the woman.” “I talked to her.”
ΘΘΞΠΗΥ Σ ΣΣΛΕ.Οι. / ssiwly i imħdaṛn. ΘΘΞΠΗΥ .Οι. / ssiwly asn.	“I talked to the students.” “I talked to them.”

## 2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns consist of a composite of various diectics that express proximity (·Λ / ad – · / a – · / u), remoteness (·Λ / ann – ΣΛ / inn) or absence (ΗΗΣ / lli – ΗΣ / nni – ΛΛ / nna – Λ · / da) along with a supporting element of determination (Λ- / w- (masc.) // + - / t- (fem.)).

*Table 5: demonstrative pronouns*

	<i>MASCULINE FORM</i>	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Proximity</i>	ՈԱ / Ո. // wad / wa	ՈՅԱ / ՅՅՈ. // wid / yina
<i>Remoteness</i>	ՈԻ / ՈՅԻ // wann / win	ՈՅԻԻ / ՅՅԻՅԻ // winn / yininn
<i>Absence</i>	ՈՅԻԻՏ / ՈԻԻՏ // walli / wnni	ՈՅԻԻՏ / ՅԵԻԻՏ // willi / yinni
	ՈԱ. / ՈԻ. // wada / wnna	ՈՅԱ. / ՈՅԻ. // wida / winna

	<i>FEMININE FORM</i>	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Proximity</i>	ՒԱ / Ւ. // tad / ta	ՒՅԱ / ՒՅ. // tid / tina
<i>Remoteness</i>	ՒՈԼ / ՒՅՈԼ // tann / tinn	ՒՅՈԼ / ՒՅՅՈԼ // tinn / tininn
<i>Absence</i>	ՒՅԻԻՏ / ՒԻԻՏ // talli / tnni	ՒՅԻԻՏ / ՒԵԻԻՏ // tilli / tinni
	ՒԱ. / ՒՈԼ. // tada / tnna	ՒՅԱ. / ՒՅՈԼ. // tida / tinna

### 3. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by conjoining supporting elements of determination (Ո / w- for the masculine form and Ւ / t- for the feminine form) with the possessive pronominal complements of nouns (ՅԻ՞ : / inu, ՈՒՐ / ՅՈՒՐ-nnk / ink, ՈՉ / ՅՈՉ - nns / ins) (*cf. 4.1.2.c*). The different paradigms of possessive pronouns are set out in the following tables:

*Table 6: possessive pronouns with **U/w** (possessed masc. sing.)*

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙ:</b> / <b>winu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΚ</b> / <b>winnk</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘ</b> / <b>winns</b> «his»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙ:</b> / <b>winu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙС</b> / <b>winnm</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘ</b> / <b>winns</b> «hers»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΨ</b> / <b>winny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙ:I</b> / <b>winnun</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘI</b> / <b>winnsn</b> «theirs»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΨ</b> / <b>winny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙ:I+</b> / <b>winnunt</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘI+</b> / <b>winnsnt</b> «theirs»

*Table 7: possessive pronouns with **U/w** (possessed masc. plr.)*

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙ:</b> / <b>winu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΚ</b> / <b>winnk</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘ</b> / <b>winns</b> «his»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙ:</b> / <b>winu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙС</b> / <b>winnm</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘ</b> / <b>winns</b> «hers»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΨ</b> / <b>winny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙ:I</b> / <b>winnun</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘI</b> / <b>winnsn</b> «theirs»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΨ</b> / <b>winny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙ:I+</b> / <b>winnunt</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>UΣΙΙΘI+</b> / <b>winnsnt</b> «theirs»

*Table 8: possessive pronouns with **t/t** (possessed fem. sing.)*

	Masculine form	Feminine form
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙ:</b> / <b>tinu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΚ</b> / <b>tinnk</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΘ</b> / <b>tinns</b> «his»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙ:</b> / <b>tinu</b> «mine» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙС</b> / <b>tinnm</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΘ</b> / <b>tins</b> «his»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΨ</b> / <b>tinny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙ:I</b> / <b>tinnun</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΘI</b> / <b>tinnsn</b> «theirs»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΨ</b> / <b>tinny</b> «ours» 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙ:I+</b> / <b>tinnunt</b> «yours» 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΘI+</b> / <b>tinnsnt</b> «theirs»

**Table 9: possessive pronouns with **t** / **t** (possessed fem. plr.)**

	<b>Masculine form</b>	<b>Feminine form</b>
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙ፡</b> / <b>tinu</b> «mine»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙ፡</b> / <b>tinu</b> «mine»
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙΚ</b> / <b>tinnk</b> «yours»	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԸ</b> / <b>tinnm</b> «yours»
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԸ</b> / <b>tinns</b> «his»	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԸ</b> / <b>tinnsn</b> «his»
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԿ</b> / <b>tinny</b> «ours»	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԿ</b> / <b>tinny</b> «ours»
	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԸ</b> / <b>tinnun</b> «yours»	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԸՒ</b> / <b>tinnunt</b> «yours»
	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԸՒ</b> / <b>tinnsnt</b> «theirs»	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.: <b>†ΣΙΙԸՒ</b> / <b>tinnsnt</b> «theirs»

#### 4. Interrogative pronouns

An interrogative pronoun substitutes the NP on which the question is asked in a sentence. In general terms, an interrogative pronoun is built on the basis of the element **⠇** / **ma** which might be followed with **▫Λ** / **ad** or **▫ጀ** / **ay** “it is”. The form of interrogative pronouns varies on the basis of their syntactic function.

- **⠇** / **ma** - **⠇ጀ** / **wi** - **▫** / **u** “who”

When **⠇** / **ma**, **⠇ጀ** / **wi** or **▫** / **u** has a subjective function, the verb should surface in the participial form (*cf. 5.1.2.c*):

<b>⠇ .▫ ΣΘ⠇.▫ .▫ጀ ? /</b> ma ad iswan atay ?	“Who drank tea?”
<b>⠇ .▫ጀ ΣΘ⠄.▫ .▫Λ⠄ጀ ? /</b> ma ay isyan adlis ?	“Who bought the book?”
<b>⠇ጀ .▫ Σ⠇.▫ .▫Λ .▫ጀ ? /</b> wi as innan awal ad ?	“Who told him these words?”
<b>▫ .▫ጀ ΣΘ⠄.▫ .▫Λ⠄ጀ ? /</b> u as isyan idlisp ?	“Who bought him the books?”

The form **⠇ .▫ጀ** / **ma ay** is realized as [**⠇.X**] / [mag] when it is followed by the participial form **⠄...!** / **i ... n**.

- **⠇** / **ma** - **⠇ጀ** / **min** - **▫** / **u** “what”

When the interrogative pronouns **⠇** / **ma**, **⠇ጀ** / **min** and **▫** / **u** fill a direct object function, the verb does not take the participial form and is conjugated in one of the four basic themes (*cf. 5.1.3*):

ይ. አ. +ርር. / ma ad tccam ?	“What did you eat?”
ይ. ተ. +ኩሮ. / min tnnid ?	“What did you say?”
ይ. ዓ. +ቀቃለ. / ma ay tzrid ?	“What did you see?”

- የዕለሁ / manwa // የዕለዎ / manwn “which (masc.)” የዕተሁ / manta // የዕተዎ / mantn “which (fem.)”

Linked to the proximity deictic ለ. / wa or to the remoteness deictic ሲ / wn, the form የ / ma is realized as የዕለሁ / manwa or የዕለዎ / manwn. The latter two interrogative pronouns exhibit variation in number and gender as the examples below show.

የዕለሁ / የዕለዎ / manwa / manwn	“which one”
የዕለዱ / የዕለዱ / manwi / manyn	“which ones”
የዕተሁ / የዕተዎ / manta / mantn	“which one (fem.)”
የዕተዱ / የዕተዱ / manti / mantin	“which ones (fem. plr.)”
የዕለዱ ለለዱ ? / manwi ddanin ?	“which ones left?”
የዕተሁ ተሟዱ ? / manta tsyid ?	“which one (fem.) did you buy?”

- *Interrogative pronoun as object of a preposition*

Such an interrogative pronoun is used when the question targets the object of a preposition. The examples below exhibit the different forms in which interrogative pronouns appear when they target the object of a preposition:

እ. ፈ. / የእ. ፈ. // i mi / i umi	“to whom”
ሸ. ፈ. / የሸ. ፈ. / s mi / s minzi	“with what”
ቸ. ፈ. / xf mi	“on what”
የዕ. ፈ. / yur mi	“at whose house”
ው. ፈ. / agd mi	“with whom”
እ. ፈ. ያ. ፈ. / i mi isawl ?	“To whom did he speak?”
የዕ. ፈ. ያ. ፈ. / i umi iwca ttmyat ?	“To whom did he give the money?”
ሸ. ፈ. ያ. ፈ. / s mi ibbi azalim ?	“With what did he cut the onion?”
ው. ፈ. ያ. ፈ. / agd mi irah ?	“With whom did he go?”

## 5. Indefinite pronouns

Among the main indefinite pronouns, we may well mention:

**a. ፻ሺ / kra “something, someone”**

The indefinite pronoun ፻ሺ / kra is realized also as ፻ሺ / cra or ፻ / ca. The form ፻ሺ / kra, which refers to inanimate objects or things, surfaces unscathed regardless of gender and number variation.

✳QΣΨ ፻ሺ. / զրի կրա.	“I saw something.”
+IIΣΛ ፻. / tnnid ca.	“You told something.”

The indefinite pronoun ፻ሺ / kra (and its variants) can be followed by the preposition ՚ / n along with another indefinite pronoun like հձ “someone, noone” or յան / իյ “one” leading to the appearance of phrases like ፻ሺ ՚ ՏՈ / kra n yan, ፻ ՚ ՀԱՅ / ca n ijj, ፻ሺ ՚ ՏԵԱ / cra n yiwn “someone”:

✳Q ፻ሺ ՚ ՏՈ ! / զր կրա ն յան !	“Try to find someone!”
ԸԼԱԿ ՚ Ը ፻. / սալի ի կա նիյ.	“I talked to someone”.”
✳QΣΨ ፻. / չԱԱ. / զրի կա ն հձ.	“I saw someone.”

**b. Ա.ՏԵ / Ա.ՏՏ.Ե / Ա.Ի.Է / (l) - wayd / wiyyad / wnnqni (n) “other(s)”**

Masc. Sing.	Ա.ՏԵ / Ա.ՏՏ.Ե / Ա.Ի.Է(l)
	wayd / wayyad / wnnqni(n)
Masc. Plr.	Ա.ՏՏ.Ե / Ա.Ի.Է. / Տ.Ի.Է
	wiyyad / winnqni / yinndni
Fem. Sing.	Տ.ՏԵ / Տ.ՏՏ.Ե / Տ.Ի.Է(l)
	tayd / tayyaqd / tnnqni(n)
Fem. Plr.	Տ.ՏՏ.Ե / Տ.Ի.Է(l)
	tiyyad / tinnqni(n)

+II.Ը Ա.Վ ԱՎ Հ Ա Ա. / tnnam awal lli i wiyyad.	“You told that to others.”
+ԱԱ. Հ Տ.ՏԵ. / tdda d tayd.	“Another one (fem.) came.”
ԿՕΣΨ Հ +Ի.Է. / յրի ի տնդնի.	“I called the other (fem.).”

**c. օԸ.Տ. / amata “the majority”**

օԸ.Տ. ՀԱԱ. Հ. / amata idda d.	“The majority of them came.”
օԸ.Տ. ՀՈՒ ՀԱԱ. Հ. / amata nnsn iqqim.	“The majority of them did not come.”

The indefinite form օԸ.Տ. / amata is also used in the expression Ը օԸ.Տ. / s umata “the majority”.

ՀԱԱ. Հ Ը օԸ.Տ. / ddan d s umata. “The majority of them came.”

## CHAPTER 5

### Verbs and verb phrases

Verbs may well appear in a simple form („**X** / agm “to draw water”, „**X** / agl “to hang”, „**O**.**L** / sawl “to talk”) or in a derived form (††**L**.**X** / twagm, ††**L**.**X** / ††**S**.**X** / ttwagl / ttyagl, **L**„**O**.**L** / msawal). In both cases, verbs are conjugated in one of the following four themes: the aorist, the perfective, the perfective negative or the imperfective. Simple or derived, verbs receive the same verbal markers. Depending on the theme, verbs are preceded by one of the following aspectual particles: „**A** / ad, „**O**.**A** (**O**.**A**, **X**.**A**) / rad (sad, xad), **A** / da, **M** / la, „**O** / ar and „**Z**„**Z** / aqqa (qa).

#### 1. Simple verbs

##### 1.1. The root and the stem

A simple verb is made up of a root and a stem. The root consists of a consonant or a sequence of consonants that express the lexical and semantic meaning of the verb. The verbs „**H** / af “to find” and „**X** / agl “to hang”, for instance, are made up of the roots **H** / f and **X** / gl. The root does not belong to any grammatical category; it is neither a verb nor a noun.

To be realized, a root must be put in the mould of a stem, a sort of frame which usually includes vowels, making it possible for the sequence of vowels and consonants to have a grammatical category. The roots **H** / f and **X** / gl are mapped onto the following stem patterns: vc<sup>9</sup> and vcc, hence the forms „**H** / af and „**X** / agl.

The combination of a root and a stem makes up the verb radical. The conjugated form of the verb obtains by adding verbal markers (gender and person, for instance) to the radical (cf. 4.1.2 a and 5.1.2).

In general terms, verbs are classified on the basis of the number of consonants they have. There are monoliteral (consisting of one consonant),

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<sup>9</sup> c stands for a consonant and v for a vowel.

biliteral (2 consonants), triliteral (3 consonants), quadrilateral (4 consonants) and quinquilateral (5 consonants) verbs.

*a. Monoliteral*

X / g	“to be, to do”
O: / ru	“to weep, to cry”
.H / SH // af / if	“to find”
SIΞ / ini	“to say”
ΣΟΞ / iri	“to like, to love”

*b. Biliteral*

IΘ / ns	“to spend the night”
XI / gn	“to sleep”
ΛΛ় / ddz	“to grind”
XI: / gnu	“to sew”
.XCL / agm	“to draw water”
Θ:E / sud	“to blow”
:X:O / ugur	“to walk”

*c. Trilateral*

ΜCΛ / lmd	“to learn”
ΧΛΨ / zdy	“to live, to dwell”
ΘLΘ / sqsa	“to ask”
ΘΘΞLΗ / Θ.ΛΗ // ssiwl / sawl	“to speak”

*d. Quadrilateral*

ΛΟΨΗ / dryl	“to be blind”
ΧCLXCL / gmgm	“to stammer”
ΛΟΛΣ / drdm	“to stumble”
ΘΘΟΚΙ / bbrkn	“to be black”

## 1.2. Verbal inflections

Three types of verbal inflection markers are observed in Amazigh: the non-imperative form (*cf. 4.1.2 a*), the imperative form and the participial form markers.

### *a. Inflectional markers of the non-imperative form*

These inflectional markers are affixed to the verb irrespective of the theme in which it is conjugated (aorist, perfective, negative perfective or imperfective). The inflectional markers can be prefixed and / or suffixed as laid out in the table below:

	<b>Masculine form</b>	<b>Feminine form</b>
<b>Sing.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers. ---- ɿ / ---- y 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- A / t ---- d 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. ξ ---- / i ----	1 <sup>st</sup> pers. ---- ɿ / ---- y 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- A / t ---- d 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. † ---- / t ----
<b>Plr.</b>	1 <sup>st</sup> pers. l ---- / n ---- 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- C / t ---- m 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. ---- l / ---- n	1 <sup>st</sup> pers. l ---- / n ---- 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. † ---- C† / t ---- mt 3 <sup>rd</sup> pers. ---- l† / ---- nt

- Some of the markers set out above have variants. The first singular person ɿ / y is also realised as X / x or A / h.
- The discontinuous inflectional morpheme † ... A / t ... d of the second singular person can also appear as † ... † / t ... t (†ɻɻɻɿA / tffyd or †ɻɻɻɿ† / tffyt “you got out”).

The inflectional marker ξ / i of the third masculine singular person is pronounced ɿ / y when the verb has a vocalic initial.

ξ + ɻɻ\* → ɻɻɿ\* / yumɿ “He grasped, he held”

ξ + ΣUξ → ɻɻUξ / yiwi “He took”

The inflectional marker † ... C† / t ... mt of the second feminine plural person may be realized as † ... l† / t ... nt by assimilation of C / m to † / t.

### *b. The imperative mood inflectional markers*

The inflectional markers of the imperative form are always suffixed to the verbal stem:

*Table 2: inflectional markers of the imperative form*

	<b>Masculine form</b>	<b>Feminine form</b>
<b>Sing.</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- Ø	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- Ø
<b>Plr.</b>	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- o† / † // ---- at / t 2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- C / ---- m	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers. ---- oC† / C† // ---- amt / mt

As the table shows, no inflectional marker specifies the second singular person, as is apparent in **ףַּיִּתְ** / ffy ! “Get out!”, **וַיִּתְ** / adj ! “Get in!”.

When the speaker is involved in the action that the interlocutor is ordered to perform, the pronoun ay (any) is added to the imperative verb.

ଜାହ୍ୟ ଯୁ ! / ffy ay !	“Let us go out (you and me)!”
ଜାହ୍ୟୁତ ଯୁ ! / ffyat ay !	“Let us go out (you (masc.) and me)!”
ଜାହ୍ୟୁତ ଯୁ ! / ffymt any !	“Let us go out (you (fem.) and me)!”

### *c. Inflectional markers of the participial form*

A third form of inflectional markers is used with the participial form. This form is observed in specific contexts, such as the relative clause, the topicalized clause and the interrogative sentence provided that the subject is the antecedent of the relative pronoun or the object of a topicalization or a question.

◦ՕՉ◦ Կ ԱԽԵԿԻ ։ Օ Ա Լ Ւ ։  
argaz lli iffyn ur d ntta  
“The man who went out is not him.”

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◦ԸՆՔՕ ։ Ո Թ Օ ։ Տ Ա Խ Թ ։ Ա Վ Ի ։  
amqqran nnsn ay d isawln  
“It is their chief who spoke.”

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Ա Ե Խ Օ ։ Ա ՞ ։  
wi irahn ?  
“Who went?”

The participial form has an inflectional marker that is specific to it; it is different from the markers of the neutral and imperative forms. The inflectional marker takes the following shape **ξ...l** / **i...n** (**ΣΧΙΨΥ** / iffyn, **ΣΛΛεl** / iddan and **ΣΟ▫Αl** / irahn). This marker is used with all verbal themes to the exception of the aorist which is preceded by **O▫** / ra. The marker is also realised as **ξ...l** / **y...n** if the verb starts with a vowel (**Σ▫ΛΗl** / yudfn “entering”). In the plural form, the marker surfaces as **...l|Σl** / **....nin**, as displayed in the examples below:

- Masc. / fem. sing. ξ ... | / i ... n
  - Masc. / fem. plr. ... |ξ| / ... nin

†.ԸԿ.ՕՒ ՏԵՇՎԻ / tamyart iffyn	“the woman who went out”
†.ԸԿ.ՕՏԻ ԼԵՇՎԻՏԻ / timyarin ffynin	“the women who went out”
.ՕԹ. ՏԻՇԽՎԻ / arba ittfyն	“the boy who always goes out”
.ՕԹ. Կ. ՏԵՇՎԻ / arba ya iffyn	“the boy who will go out”
.ՕԹ. ԱԲ Օ. ՏԵՇՎԻ / arba lli ra iffyn	“the boy who will go out”

The participial form of the aorist may well be used with Կ. / ya and .Կ. / a ya which are contextual variants of .Ա / ad.

ՀԵՇՅ Տ Կ. ՏԵՇՎԻ. / hmmu i ya iddun. “It is Hemmou who will go.”

### 1.3. Verbal themes

#### a. The aorist

The aorist surfaces in the same form of the stem of the second singular person of the imperative mood (*cf. 5.1.4*). However, the usual verbal markers are cliticised to the verb when it is conjugated.

.ԱԽ / awi “take+aorist”	.ԱԽ ! / awi! “take ! (imperative)”
ՐՃ / kcm “enter+aorist”	ՐՃ ! / kcm! “enter ! (imperative)”
>XՈԽ / zri “cross+aorist”	XՈԽ ! / zri! “cross ! (imperative)”

The aorist may well be construed as the basic form from which all the other verbal themes are derived. More often than not, it is preceded by the particle .Ա / ad which expresses different semantic values, the future included, or by Օ.Ա / rad which expresses the future value only.

.Ա ՏՈՒՄ. / ad irwl.	“He will run away.”
ՏԻԽ. Օ.Ա ՏԵՇՎ. / ini as ad iddu.	“Tell him to leave.”
Օ.Ա ՏԵՇՎ. / rad iffyn.	“He will go out.”
Օ.Ա ՌԵՏԸՆ Խ ՒԵՇՎ. / rad qqimn g tgmmi.	“They will stay at home.”

If the verb is used in listing a number of actions or in narration contexts, the aorist is not preceded by the particle .Ա / ad and may express semantic values other than the future.

- Օ.Ա ՏՈ.Ա Ա Թ.Օ.Օ, ՏՄՋ Ց.Օ, ՏՈՏԸՆՄ Օ.Օ ԽՀ ՒԵԿՕ.

ad irah d babas, izr umas, issiwl as xf tmyra.

He will go with his father, see his brother and talk to him about the marriage ceremony.

- ΣΛΛ。Θ + Ε。✳ΣΟ†, Σ。ԱՏΣ ՀԼԱՑԹԻ և ՏՄԿ。ԱԼ, ՀԹԿ。ԹԻ ՀԵ。ԹՈՒ.

idda s tmazirt, yawy idlisn i inlmadn, isy asn imassn.

He went to his hometown, took books to the pupils and bought school supplies for them.

- ՞Ա ՀԱՅՈՒԹ : ԻՄ Զ, ՏԻՎԻ ԱՅԾՈՒ, ԻՐԱԿԱ ԻՐԱԿ, ԱԼՈՎԻ ՀԱՅՈՒ.

ad iwwt unżar, ilin waman, tugut tuga, jjawnn izgarn.

The rain will fall, there will be water, grass will be abundant and cows will eat their fill.

**Table 3: conjugation of the verb ΣΙΣ / ini in the aorist form (with οΛ / ad)**

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦Λ ΣΙΣΨ / ad iniy «I will say»</li> <li>◦Λ +ΣΙΣΛ / ad tinid «you will say «</li> <li>◦Λ ΣΣΙΣ / ad yini «he will say «</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦Λ ΣΙΣΨ / ad iniy «I will say»</li> <li>◦Λ +ΣΙΣΛ / ad tinid «you will say «</li> <li>◦Λ +ΣΙΣ / ad tini «she will say «</li> </ul>
Plr.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦Λ ΙΣΙΣ / ad nini «we will say «</li> <li>◦Λ +ΣΙΣΛ / ad timimt «you will say»</li> <li>◦Λ ΣΙΣΙ / ad inin «they will say «</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦Λ ΙΣΙΣ / ad nini «we will say «</li> <li>◦Λ +ΣΙΣΛ / ad timimt «you will say»</li> <li>◦Λ ΣΙΣΗ / ad inint «they will say «</li> </ul>

•  $\Lambda$  / ad and  $O\Lambda$  / rad are pronounced as • / a and O• / ra (reduced forms) respectively before a verb that starts with a consonantal marker. This marker may either be + / t (2<sup>nd</sup> sing. or plr. person) or | / n (1<sup>st</sup> plr. person).

◦Λ +◦ΛΣΛ ad tawid	“you will take”	→	[◦++◦ΛΣΛ] [attawid]
◦Λ ΙΕΗΨΥ ad nffy	“we will get out”	→	[◦ΙΙΕΗΨΥ] [annffy]
Ο◦Λ +ΙΘ+ rad tnst	“you will spend the night”	→	[Ο◦+ΙΘ+] [rattnst]
Ο◦Λ ΙΙΘ rad nns	“we will spend the night”	→	[Ο◦ΙΙΘ] [ranns]

### b. Positive perfective

The positive perfective theme (which goes also under the name of the positive preterite) shows that the action of the verb is finished. To be conjugated, perfective verbs get the same verbal markers (person markers) as the ones seen before (*cf. 5.1.2. table n°I*).

For a number of verbs, the perfective and aorist themes are identical. When such identity holds, the verbs are considered to be regular.

Aorist		Perfective	
◦Λ Σέ:I ad imun	“he will accompany”	Σέ:I imun	“he accompanied”
◦Λ ΣέχεΨ ad iffý	“he will go out”	ΣέχεΨ iffý	“he went out”
◦Λ ΣέληΨ ad izdy	“he will live”	ΣέληΨ izdy	“he lived”

For other verbs, the perfective theme is different from the aorist theme. These verbs are irregular.

Aorist		Perfective	
◦Λ ΣήΣΙ ad ilin	“they will be”	Μή:I llan	“they were”
◦Λ ΣίΣΨ ad iniy	“I will say”	ΙΙΣΨ nniy	“I said”
◦Λ ο.ΗΨ ad afy	“I will find”	ο.ΗΣΨ ufiy	“I found”
◦Λ ΣΟΣΙ ad irin	“they will need”	Ο.Ι ran	“they need(ed)”

The perfective form of this class of verbs is different from the aorist form by a vocalic alternation sometimes concomitant with consonantal gemination.

More often than not, it is vocalic alternation that is observed and not consonantal gemination. In fact, the vowel of the stem is subject to change and alternates with another vowel that may obtain at the initial, middle or final position. The different alternations observed are laid out as follows:

- o- / a- > ö- / u- alternation at the initial position

Aorist		Perfective	
◦Λ◦ԸԿՎ ad amzy	“I will hold”	◦ԸԿՎ umzy	“I held”
◦Λ◦ՔՎՎ ad agly	“I will hang”	◦ՔՎՎ ugly	“I hung”
◦Λ◦ԶՎՎՎ ad azzly	“I will run”	◦ԶՎՎՎ uzzly	“I ran”

It should also be noted that verbs with an initial vowel o- / a- followed by a semi-consonant լ / w exhibit a different vocalic alternation. The alternation of the initial vowel of such verbs obtains in the following pattern: o- / a- > չ- / i-:

Aorist		Perfective	
◦Λ◦ԱՎՎ ad awiy	“I will take”	◦ԱՎՎ iwy	“I took”
◦Λ◦ԱՎՎ ad awly	“I will marry”	◦ԱՎՎ iwly	“I got married”
◦Λ◦ԱՎՎ ad awdy	“I will arrive”	◦ԱՎՎ iwdy	“I arrived”

- o- / a- > ö- / u- alternation at the medial position

Aorist		Perfective	
◦Λ◦ՎՎՎՎՎ ad ggally	“I will swear”	◦ՎՎՎՎՎՎ ggully	“I swore”
◦Λ◦ԾԾ.ՕՎ ad ccary	“I will fill”	◦ԾԾ.ՕՎ ccury	“I filled”
◦Λ◦ՀՈՒ ad ilal	“he will be born”	◦ՀՈՒ ilul	“he was born”

- Zero alternation and final vowel insertion

This class of verbs, when conjugated in the perfective form, is characterized by the appearance of a vowel at the ultimate position, a vowel absent in the aorist form.

Aorist		Perfective	
◦Λ◦ՎՎ ad gy	“I will be”	◦ՎՎ / giy	“I am / was”
◦Λ◦ԷԼՏ ad inz	“It will be sold”	◦ԷԼՏ / inza	“It is / was sold”
◦Λ◦ԷՄՔ ad izr	“he will see”	◦ԷՄՔ / izra	“he saw”

In the first and second singular persons, the perfective theme of a number of verbs is marked by the appearance of a final vowel **Σ-** / **i**; in other persons, the same vowel is rendered as **o-** / **a-**, as set out in the conjugation of the verb **ΘΨ** / **sy** “to buy” below:

*Table 4: Conjugation of the verb ΘΨ / sy “to buy”*

	Masculine form	Feminine form
Sing.	<b>ΘΨΣΨ</b> / <b>syiy</b> «I bought»	<b>ΘΨΣΨ</b> / <b>syiy</b> «I bought»
	<b>†ΘΨΣΛ</b> / <b>tsyid</b> «you bought»	<b>†ΘΨΣΛ</b> / <b>tsyid</b> «you bought»
	<b>ΣΘΨο</b> / <b>isya</b> «he bought»	<b>†ΘΨο</b> / <b>tsya</b> «she bought»
Plr.	<b>ΙΘΨο</b> / <b>nsya</b> «we bought»	<b>ΙΘΨο</b> / <b>nsya</b> «we bought»
	<b>†ΘΨοΛ</b> / <b>tsyam</b> «you bought»	<b>†ΘΨοΛ†</b> / <b>tsyamt</b> «you bought»
	<b>ΘΨοι</b> / <b>syant</b> «they bought»	<b>ΘΨοι†</b> / <b>syant</b> «they bought»

Final alternation is not observed only in verbs with the pattern zero alternation and final vowel insertion; it is also observed in verbs with double alternations (initial and final) as in **ΣΟΞ** / **iri** “to want”, **ΣΙΣ** / **ini** “to say” and **ΣΗΣ** / **ili** “to be, to exist”:

<b>ΟΞΨ</b> / <b>riy</b>	“I need”	<b>ΙΞΨ</b> / <b>nniy</b>	“I told”
<b>†ΟΞΛ</b> / <b>trid</b>	“you need”	<b>†ΙΞΛ</b> / <b>tnnid</b>	“you told”
<b>ΣΟο</b> / <b>ira</b>	“He needs”	<b>ΣΙο</b> / <b>inma</b>	“He told”
<b>Οοι</b> / <b>ran</b>	“They need”	<b>ΙΙο</b> / <b>nnan</b>	“They told”

- Verbs with double vocalic alternations (initial and final)

<b>οΛ οΙΙΨ</b> / <b>ad ajjy</b>	“I will let”	<b>οΙΙΣΨ</b> / <b>ujjiy</b>	“I let”
<b>οΛ οΙΙΙ</b> / <b>ad ajjn</b>	“they will let”	<b>οΙΙοι</b> / <b>ujjan</b>	“they let”
<b>οΛ οΕΨ</b> / <b>ad afy</b>	“I will find”	<b>οΕΙΣΨ</b> / <b>ufiy</b>	“I found”
<b>οΛ οΕΙ</b> / <b>ad afn</b>	“They will find”	<b>οΕΙο</b> / <b>ufan</b>	“they found”

- Vocalic alternation (vowel > zero vowel (in initial position)) along with consonantal gemination and final **Σ** / **i** - **ο** / **a** alternation

ΣΙΣ / ini “to tell” →	ΙΙΣΥ / nniy	“I told”
ΤΙΙΣΛ / tnnid		“you told”
ΣΙΙ. / inna		“he told”
ΙΙ.Ι / nnan		“they told”

ΣΗΣ / ili “to be” →	ΙΙΙΣΥ / lliy	“I am”
ΤΙΙΙΣΛ / tlid		“you are”
ΣΙΙΙ. / illa		“he is”
ΙΙΙ.Ι / llan		“they are”

### c. Negative perfective

The negative perfective theme (which goes also by the name of negative preterite) is a variant of the positive perfective theme. It is used when the verb is preceded by the morpheme of negation :Ο / ur (*cf.* 8.2.1). The main feature that specifies this theme is the appearance of vowel Σ / i before the final consonant of the verb stem if such consonant exists.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
:ΣΥ / umzy	“I held”	:Ο :ΣΥ / ur umizy	“I did not hold”
ΚΟΣΥ / krzy	“I ploughed”	:Ο ΚΟΣΥ / ur krizy	“I did not plough”
ΣΙ. / inna	“he said”	:Ο ΣΙΣ / ur inni	“he did not say”
Ο.Ι / ran	“they want”	:Ο ΟΣΙ / ur rin	“they do not want”

Some verbs do not exhibit any alteration in their negative form; put in another way, their positive and negative forms are identical.

Perfective		Negative Perfective	
Ε:ΙΥ / muny	“I accompanied”	:Ο Ε:ΙΥ / ur muny	“I did not accompany”
Ι:Ο.Ο / nurar	“We danced.”	:Ο Ι:Ο.Ο / ur nurar	“We did not dance.”
.ΑΖΥΜΝ / azumn	“They fasted.”	:Ο .ΑΖΥΜΝ / ur azumn	“They did not fast.”

†CED:t / tmmut	“She died.”	:O †CED:t / ur tmmut	“She did not die.”
ΣCEDW: / imllul	“It is white.”	:O ΣCEDW: / ur imllul	“It is not white.”

#### d. The imperfective

The imperfective theme expresses action progressiveness; it usually meets habitual, intensive or iterative ends. The repetition of the action may hold in the past, present or future. To the exception of some Amazigh varieties, the imperfective theme of a verb is preceded by one or another of the following aspectual particles .O / ar, Λo / da, Μo / la, ΖΖo / aqqa or .Λ / ad // OΛ / rad (and their variants) when the action takes place in the future (*cf.* 5.3).

The imperfective theme is derived from the aorist by applying one or more of the following morphological alterations: †† / tt- prefixation, gemination of a root consonant and the insertion of a vowel.

- †† / tt- prefixation: one of the most prominent markers of the imperfective theme:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
.X: / azu	“to skin”	††.X: / ttazu
ΣΙΣ / ini	“to say”	††ΣΙΣ / ttini
ΛΛ: / ddu	“to go”	††ΛΛ: / ttddu
.ΛΣ / awi	“to take”	††.ΛΣ / ttawi
:Θ: / usu	“to cough”	††:Θ: / ttusu
††: / ttu	“to forget”	††:††: / ttettu
Σ: / mun	“to be united”	††Σ: / ttmun
ΣΣΣ / imim	“to be sweet”	††ΣΣΣ / ttimim

- Gemination of one of the root consonants: a simple consonant in the aorist form becomes tense in the imperfective form. Gemination is generally observed in the medial consonant of trilateral verbs as well as in the first or second consonant of bilateral verbs:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ΜΕΛ / lmd	“to learn”	ΜΕΕΛ / lmmd
Q*Σ / rzm	“to open”	Q*ΜΣ / rzzm

☒☒O / mgr	“to reap”	☒☒☒O / mggr
☒ΛΨ / zdy	“to live”	☒ΛΛΨ / zddy
QEℳ / ṛdl	“to lend, borrow”	QEℳℳ / ṛṭtl
ΟUℳ / rwl	“to flee”	ΟXℳ“ℳ / rgw <sup>wl</sup>
ΟΘ় / rbu	“to put on the back”	ΟΘ়Θ / rbbu
ΙΨ / ny	“to kill”	ΙΖΖ / ΙΖΖ。 // nqq / nqqa
Κℳ / kl	“to spend the day”	Κℳℳ / Κℳℳ。 // kll / klla
✳Q / zṛ	“to see”	✳QQ。 / zṛra

The verbal root consonants E / d, U / w and Ψ / y undergo phonetic changes when they are geminated. E / d shifts to EE / ṛt, U / w becomes XX / gg and Ψ / y surfaces as ZZ / qq.

- Vowel insertion:

Ο.ℳℳ / Οξℳℳ / sawl / siwl	“to speak”	ΟΟ.ℳℳ / ssawal
ΟKℳ / skr	“to do”	ΟΚ.ℳ / skar
ΟΟℳℳℳ / ssfld	“to listen”	ΟΟℳℳℳ / ssflid
ΟΟΨℳ / ssyd	“to listen”	ΟΟΨ.ℳ / ssyad

- The gemination of a verbal root consonant along with the alternation: zero vowel > vowel:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
Iℳ / nz	“to be sold”	Iℳℳ。 / nzza
Kℳ / ks	“to graze”	Kℳℳ。 / kssa
Xℳ / gn	“to sleep”	Xℳℳ。 / ggan
Ψℳ / yz	“to dig”	Ψℳℳ。 / qqaz
*E / zd	“to grind”	*ℳℳ。E / zzad
ΟΨ / sy	“to buy”	ΟΟ.Ψ / ssay

As is clear in the aforementioned examples, gemination may affect the first (ΟΟ.Ψ / ssay) or second (Iℳℳ。 / nzza, Kℳℳ。 / kssa) consonant of a verb root.

- Vocalic alternation along with tt-(t) / tt-(t) prefixation. The vocalic alternation may well hold inside or at the end of the verb.

- Inside the verbal stem:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
׀Ø / ns	“to spend the night”	׀׀ØØ (׀ØØØ) // ttalus (nssa)
׀✗ / nz	“to be sold”	׀׀✗✗ (׀✗✗✗) // ttaluz (nzza)
◦✳✳ዥ / azzl	“to run”	׀◦✳✳ዥ (׀◦✳✳ዥዥ) / ttazzal (ttazzla)
ሩርሱ / kcm	“to enter”	׀ሁሩርሱ / ttukcam
ሩዴች / krz	“to dig”	׀ሁሩዴች / ttukraz
ለወለዎ / drdr	“to sprinkle”	׀ሁለወለዎ (׀ሁለወለዎ) // ttaldir (ttaldir)
ዕዑሪ / brkn	“to be black”	׀ሁዕዑሪ / ttbrkin

- At the end of the verb: a final vowel, absent in the aorist form, is added in the imperfective form:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
◦ዥ / af	“to find”	׀◦ዥ◦ / ttafa
ቁሙ / rz	“to break”	׀ቁሙሙ / ttarzza
ሙሉ / mud	“to braid”	׀ሙሉሉ / ttamuda
◦✳✳ዥ / azzl	“to run”	׀◦✳✳ዥዥ / ttazzla
ቁዴዥ / ggall	“to swear”	׀ቁዴዥዥ / ttgalla
ሰላል / sll	“to listen”	׀ሰላልል / ttslla
ሙሙዥ / zzall	“to pray”	׀ሙሙዥዥ / ttzalla
ቁዴዥ / qsim	“to sit”	׀ቁዴዥዥ / ttyma

The imperfective form of a whole range of verbs is concomitant with the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root. This is what is observed in verbs like, ቁዴዥ / qsim “to sit”, मሙዥ / zzall “to pray” and षषዥ / ggall “to swear”.

Some verbs may have two imperfective forms: one with the gemination of a root consonant, the other with tt- prefixation along with a vocalic alternation (ሩርሱ / kcm “to get in” > የሩርሱ / kccm or ψሁሩርሱ / ttukcam).

### Special imperfective forms

Some verbs exhibit special forms when they are conjugated in the imperfective theme. These forms are at odds with the forms provided before.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
⠃⠄ / ⠉⠄⠄ // ut / wwt	“to beat”	⠄⠄⠄ / kkat
⠄⠄ / cc	“to eat”	⠄⠄⠄⠄ / ⠉⠄⠄⠄ // ctta / tett
⠄⠄ / fk	“to give”	⠄⠄⠄ / akka
⠄⠄⠄ / bdu	“to divide”	⠄⠄⠄⠄ / aṭṭa

#### 1.4. The imperative

The imperative mood bifurcates into two sorts of forms: the simple form and the intensive form. The first consists of the aorist form of the verb along with the imperative inflectional markers (*cf.* 5.1.2 *b*).

⠄⠄⠄ ! / ffy !	“go out!”
⠄⠄⠄⠄ / ⠉⠄⠄⠄ ! / ffyat / ffym !	“go out (plr. masc.)!”
⠄⠄⠄⠄ / ⠉⠄⠄⠄⠄ ! / ffyatm / ffymt !	“go out (plr. fem.)!”

The second form of the imperative mood, dubbed *intensive imperative*, is characterized by the use of the imperfective theme alongside with the imperative markers. It expresses a repeated process:

⠄⠄⠄⠄ ! / ttffy !	“(always) go out!”
⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / ttffy(a)mt !	“(always) go out (plr. fem.)!”
⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / ssawl as !	“(always) talk to him!”

In the negative imperative form, it is the intensive form of the verb that is frequently used:

⠄⠄⠄⠄ ! ur ttffy !	or	⠄⠄⠄⠄ ! ad ur ttffy !	“Do not go out!”
⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / ttffyamt ! ur ttffyamt !	or	⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / ttffyamt ! ad ur ttffyamt !	“Do not go out (plr. fem.)!”
⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / kccm ! ur kccm !	or	⠄⠄⠄⠄⠄ / kccm ! ad ur kccm !	“Do not enter!”

Let it be noted that the imperative form with **⠄⠄⠄** / ad ur expresses a slight semantic undertone if compared to the negative imperative form without **⠄⠄⠄** / ad. The use of **⠄⠄⠄** / ad expresses shades of meaning associated with threatening and prohibition.

The **◦Λ :Ο / ad ur** negative imperative form is also used with the aorist form of the verb and the usual verbal markers (*cf. 5.1.2 a*).

<b>◦Λ :Ο ††ΛΛ:Σ ! / ad ur ttddum !</b>	“Do not go (plr. masc.)!”
<b>◦Λ :Ο ††ՀՀԵՎ ! / ad ur tffym !</b>	“Do not go out (plr. masc.)!”

## 2. Derived verbs

Derived verbs obtain from simple verbs, by virtue of prefixation of one of the following morphemes: the causative **◎ / ◎◎** // s / ss, the passive **†† / tt** and the reciprocal **Է / ԷԷ** // m / mm. However, non-derived verbs do not all have a corresponding derived form. Furthermore, while some verbs obtain in the three derived forms, other verbs accept only one or two forms.

Not unlike non-derived forms, the derived forms are conjugated in all the four afore-mentioned themes; they also have an imperative form. In some special contexts, they are observed in the participial form. In the aorist and imperfective themes, the derived forms are used with the same aspectual particles employed with non-derived verbs.

<b>◎◎:ԷՎ ԷԼՔԵ.QL ! / ssufy imhdaṛn !</b>	“Get the students out!”
<b>Է◎◎:ԷՎ ԷԼՔԵ.QL. / issufy imhdaṛn.</b>	“He got the students out!”
<b>ԷԹ.Ա.ՄԻՏ / msawalnin</b>	“who talked to each other”
<b>◦Λ ԷԹԹԶՂ ԷԼԹԽԵԼ ! / ad issidf inbgawn !</b>	“that he brings the guests in!”
<b>Խ ԷԹԹՀ:Վ ԱԼ. / la issufuy awal.</b>	“He discloses secrets.”
<b>ԷԹ.Ա.Մ.† / msawalat !</b>	“Talk to each other!”

### 2.1. The causative form

#### a. Structure

The causative form, which expresses causality, is used to confer the idea of “making do” or “making happen”. The causative form obtains by prefixing **◎ / s-**(simple) or **◎◎ / ss-** (geminate) to intransitive verbs.

- The non-tense prefix **◎-** / s- is generally used with verbs that start with a consonant.

<b>Iſ</b> / ny	“to ride”	→	<b>◎Iſ</b> / sny	“to help someone ride”
<b>XI</b> / gn	“to sleep”	→	<b>◎XI</b> / sgn	“to make someone sleep”
<b>EQ</b> / ḫr	“to go down”	→	<b>◎EQ</b> / s᠁r	“to drop”
<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / qqim	“to sit down”	→	<b>◎ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / sꝝim	“to make someone sit”
<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / mun	“to keep company”	→	<b>◎ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / smun	“to assemble”
<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / zri	“to cross”	→	<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / zzri	“to make someone cross”
<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / bdd	“to stand up”	→	<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / sbdd	“to make someone stand up”
<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / wala	“to be near”	→	<b>ꝝꝝꝝꝝ</b> / swala	“to place near”

- The geminate prefix **◎◎-** / ss- is generally used with vowel-initial verbs and sporadically with consonant-initial. The initial vowel may undergo some alterations.

<b>◦O:</b> / aru	“to give birth to”	→	<b>◎◎◦O:</b> / ◎◎ꝝO: // ssaru / ssiru	“to help a woman deliver ....”
<b>◦W◦o</b> / alla	“to weep”	→	<b>◎◎◦W◦o</b> / ssalla	“to make someone weep”
<b>ꝝOꝝU</b> / iriw	“to be broad”	→	<b>◎◎ꝝOꝝU</b> / ssiriw	“to broaden”
<b>◦X◦O</b> / ugur	“to walk”	→	<b>◎◎◦X◦O</b> / ssugur	“to make someone walk”
<b>◦U◦E</b> / aw᠁	“to arrive”	→	<b>◎◎ꝝU◦E</b> / ssiw᠁	“to send something to somebody”
<b>◦OꝝΛ/ꝝOꝝΛ</b> / arid / irid	“to be washed”	→	<b>◎◎ꝝOꝝΛ</b> / ssird	“to wash”
<b>EEE</b> / t᠁d	“to be breastfed”	→	<b>◎◎:E:◦E/◎◎:E:EE//</b> ssuđed / ssutđd	“to breastfeed”
<b>KCE</b> / kcm	“to get in”	→	<b>◎◎KCE</b> / sskcm	“to bring in”

- The causative morpheme ʘ- / s- is realised as ㅈ / z, ㅋ / c or ㅌ / j, by assimilation, if the basic form of the verb includes one of the three afore-mentioned consonants:

• ￭￭￭ / azzl	“to run”	→ ʘʘ￭￭￭ [￭￭￭￭￭]	“to make run, to commute”
￭￭ / kcm	“to get in”	→ ʘʘ￭￭ [￭￭￭￭]	“to bring in”
￭￭ / jjí	“to be cured”	→ ʘʘ￭￭ [￭￭￭￭]	“to cure”
￭￭ / jjú	“to smell good”	→ ʘ￭￭ [￭￭￭￭]	“to perfume”

- The prefixation of the causative morpheme ʘ- / s- may induce the degemination of one of the consonants of the verb root (￭￭￭ / qqim > ʘʘ￭￭ / syim, ￭￭ / tqd > ʘʘ￭￭ / ssuqđ).
- The verbs that start with ʘ- / s- are not necessarily causative. The morpheme ʘ- / s- can also function as a verbalizer, i.e. it enables the derivation of a verb from a noun, as illustrated in the following examples:

• ￭ / ađu	“wind”	→ ʘ:>E / sud	“to blow”
￭￭ / ufsan	“spitting”	→ ʘʘ:￭ / ssufs	“to spit”
￭￭ / awal	“talk”	→ ʘʘ￭￭ / ʘ.￭￭ // ssiwl / sawl	“to talk”
￭￭￭￭ / ayuyyu	“screaming”	→ ʘ￭￭￭￭ / ʘ￭￭￭ // syuyyu / syuyy	“to scream”

### b. Conjugation

Not unlike the other derived forms, the causative form is conjugated in the different verbal themes.

#### - The perfective form

The perfective form of causative verbs is identical to their aorist form.

Aorist	Perfective	Gloss
ʘʘ:￭ ॲ	ʘʘ:￭ ॲ	“to get someone out”

ΘӨΛΛ sbdd	ΘӨΛΛ sbdd	“to make someone stand up”
ΘΧ.ΜΗ sgall	ΘΧ.ΜΗ sgall	“to make someone swear”
ΘΕ፡I smun	ΘΕ፡I smun	“to assemble”

### - *The imperfective form*

The same processes observed in the formation of the imperfective form may well hold for the causative form, i.e. vocalic alternation and **tt-** / **tt-** prefixation. However, it is the vocalic alternation that is more observed.

#### - *Vocalic alternation*

In general terms, the verbs consisting of a set of consonants and a single vowel evince an alternation within the root, i.e. the appearance of a second vowel (ø / a, ø / u or ξ / i) before the final consonant of the imperfective verb. The alternation may also hold at the end of the verb. The verbs made up of consonants only may also be subject to vowel insertion.

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
ΘΘ.Λ.Η ssadf	“to bring in”	ΘΘ.Λ.Η ssadaf
ΘΘ.Η.Ψ ssufy	“to get someone out”	ΘΘ.Η.Ψ ssufuy
ΘΘ.Κ.Η ssukf	“to uproot”	ΘΘ.Κ.Η ssukuf
ΘΘ.Ξ.Ο.Λ ssird	“to wash”	ΘΘ.Ξ.Ο.Λ ssirid
ΘΘ.Ξ.Λ.Ε ssiwd	“to send something to somebody”	ΘΘ.Λ.Ε ssiwd
ΘΘ.Ι.Θ ssns	“to make someone spend the night”	ΘΘ.Ι.Θ ssns
ΘΘ.Ο.Ψ ssry	“to light”	ΘΘ.Ο.Ψ ssrya
ΘΘ.Ψ.Η.Σ ssyli	“to lift”	ΘΘ.Ζ.Ζ.Η.Σ ssaqqlay
ΘΘ.Κ.Ϲ.Ϲ sskcm	“to bring in”	ΘΘ.Κ.Ϲ.Ϲ sskcam

◎◎॥KL sslkm	“to send something to somebody”	◎◎॥K.Ł sslkam
◎◎OŁ+ / ◎◎O:Ł+ ssrw / ssrut	“to thresh”	◎◎OŁ.+ ssrwat

### -tt / tt- prefixation

This phenomenon may be accompanied with a vocalic alternation, as shown in the following examples:

Aorist	Gloss	Imperfective
◎ΘΛΛ / sbdd	“to arrest”	††◎ΘΛΛ. / ttsbdda
◎ΙΣ / sni	“to help someone ride”	††◎Ι:Σ. / ttsnuya

The imperfective form of causative verbs may exhibit a double vocalic alternation (◎◎ԿԻξ - ◎◎.ՀԵԽ.Տ / ssyli – ssaqplay).

## 2.2. The passive form

### a. Structure

Compared to the causative form, the passive form is not used frequently. The passive form is rivaled by the third plural person of non-derived verbs (ՈՒՄՆԻ + / umzn t “they arrested him” in place of ՏԻՎԱՄ / ittwamz “he was arrested”). In addition, the passive form affects only direct transitive verbs and does not have a direct object. It is expressed by prefixing one of the following morphemes ††Տ / tty-, ††Լ / ttw-, ††Ո / ttu-, or ††ԷԼ / ttiw- to the aorist form of the verb.

The morphemes ††Տ / tty- and ††Լ / ttw-, which are variants, are generally used with vowel-initial verbs.

◦XԼ / agm	“to draw (water)”	→	††Լ.ԽԼ / ttwagm // ††Տ.Խ.Լ / ttyagam // ††ՏԵԽՏԼ / ttyigim	“to be drawn (water)”
◦XՎ / agl	“to hang”	→	††Լ.ԽՎ / ttwagl // ††Տ.Խ.Վ / ttyagal // ††ՏԵԽՏՎ / ttyigil	“to be hung”
◦ՔՕ / agr	“to steal”	→	††Լ.ՔՕ / ttwakr // ††Տ.Ք.Օ / ttyakar // ††ՏԵԽՏՔՕ / ttyikir	“to be stolen”

• <b>ám</b> / amz	“to arrest”	→	++ <b>l</b> .• <b>ám</b> / ttwamz // ++ <b>s</b> .• <b>ám</b> / ttyamaz // ++ <b>s</b> <b>x</b> <b>ám</b> / ttyimiz	“to be arrested”
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Conversely, the morphemes **ttu-** / ttu- and **ttiw-** / ttiw- are, more often than not, prefixed to consonant-initial verbs.

ΘE: / bdu	“to divide”	→	++ <b>t</b> ΘE: / ttubdu // ++ <b>s</b> ΘE: / ttiwbdu	“to be divided”
⊤XO / mgr	“to reap”	→	++ <b>t</b> XO / ttumgr // ++ <b>s</b> ⊤XO / ttiwmgr	“to be reaped”
⊤OK / krz	“to plow”	→	++ <b>t</b> OK / ttukrz // ++ <b>s</b> ⊤OK / ttiwkriz	“to be plowed”

**ttu-** / ttu-, which is usually observed with vowel-initial verbs, may also appear with verbs with initial tense consonants.

⊤ZI / qqn	“to close”	→	++ <b>l</b> .⊤ZI / ttwaqqn	“to be closed”
✳✳: / zzu	“to plant”	→	++ <b>l</b> .✳✳: / ttwazzu	“to be planted”
ΛΛ:X / ddz	“to grind”	→	++ <b>l</b> .ΛΛ:X / ttwaddz	“to be ground”
✳✳X / zzg	“to milk”	→	++ <b>l</b> .✳✳X / ttwazzg	“to be milked”

With respect to the derivational morpheme **ttu-** / ttu-, it can appear before a vowel (when this scenario holds, the first vowel of the verb is deleted) or a consonant.

ΣΙΣ / ini	“to tell”	→	++ <b>t</b> ΙΙ.Σ / Σ // ttunna/i	“to be told”
ΧΟ / gr	“to throw”	→	++ <b>t</b> ΧΟ / ttugr	“to be thrown”

Another form with **ll** / nn-, although not frequently used, may also be used to express the passive form.

ΚΟΗ / krf	“to hobble”	→	ΙΙΚΟΗ / nnkrf	“to be hobbled, to suffer from rhumatism”
Q✳C / rzm	“to open”	→	ΙΙQ✳C / nnrzm	“to be loosened”
✳✳C / gzm	“to cut”	→	ΙΙ✳✳C / nngzm	“to be cut”

The Amazigh language recognizes another sort of passive form, termed *primitive* passive. Under this category, the verb appears in an ordinary non-derived form without a direct object. The verbs of this category confer a passive meaning by themselves; they do not necessarily need the common

passive prefixes (††L / ttw, ††S / tty ...). Examples of such verbs are KOK / krz “to plough, to be ploughed”, CXO / mgr “to saw, to be sawed”, ZZI / qqn “to close, to be closed”, ALX / ddz “to grind, to be ground” and QM / rz “to break, to be broken” which often appear in the passive primitive form.

KOK SXO. / ikrz yigr.	“The field is ploughed.”
CXO SXO. / imgr yigr.	“The field is reaped.”
†ZZI †HEH:†. / tqqn tflut.	“The door is closed.”
ALX :*.QXH. / iddz uzařif.	“The alum is ground.”
QM :W:IXE. / irza uyanim.	“The reed is broken.”

### b. Conjugation

The perfective form of passive verbs is always identical to the aorist form of ordinary non-derived verbs.

.C / amz	“to grab”	→	††L.C / ttwamz	“to be grabbed”
.X / agl	“o hang”	→	††L.X / ttwagl	“to be hung”

The negative perfective form may well be accompanied by an insertion of the vowel S / i before the final consonant.

Aorist	Gloss	Perfective Pass.	Neg. Perfective Pass.
CET cmt	“to dupe”	††L.CET / ††:CET ttwacmt / ttucmt	††L.CES / ††:CES ttwacmit / ttucmit

The imperfective form is generally characterized by the insertion of a vowel before the final consonant of the verb.

Aorist	Gloss	Aorist Pass.	Imperfective Pass.	Gloss
ZZI qqn	“to close”	††L.ZZI ttwaqqn	††L.ZZI ttwaqqan	“to be closed”
CW ml	“to show”	††L.CW ttwaml	††L.CW ttwamal	“to be shown”
WCW lmd	“to learn”	††L.WCW ttwalmd	††L.WCW ttwalmad	“to be learnt”

## 2.3. The reciprocal form

### a. Structure

The reciprocal form is used to express the simultaneity of an action effected or undergone by two or more participants. It is marked by prefixing ئـ / m- (or its variants ئئـ / mm- and ئىـ / my-) to the simple form of the verb.

ئئىھەل. / mmnyan.	“They quarreled (one with another).”
ئەتەتەۋەنەل. / da ttmsqsan.	“They are informing each other.”
ئئىقەل ئەتەنەل. / mmẓan g ssuq.	“They saw each other at the market.”

A vowel is usually inserted before or after the final consonant of the reciprocal verb, depending on the category of the verb used.

Aorist	Gloss		Reciprocal Form	Gloss
قەلىق / cawṛ	“to consult”	→	ئقەلىق / mcawar	“to consult each other”
ئەتەنەل / ssafḍ	“to send”	→	ئەتەنەل / msafad	“to see off (each other)”
زىق / zṛ	“to see”	→	ئئىقەل / mmẓra	“to see each other”
ھۆ / yr	“to call”	→	ئئىھۆ / mmryra	“to call each other”

Let it be noted that the variant ئىـ / my- is used with vowel-initial verbs or with verbs that contain a geminate consonant.

اۋەل / awd	“to arrive”	→	ئىاۋەل / myawad	“to join each other”
ئىككىش / kks	“to remove”	→	ئىئىككىش / myukkas	“to remove mutually”
اۋەل / af	“to find”	→	ئىاۋەل / myafa	“to find each other”

## b. Conjugation

### - The perfective form

The perfective form of a broad range of reciprocal verbs exhibits a vowel insertion before the final consonant:

Ca.ΛQ / cawṛ	“to consult”	→	Ca.Λ.Q / mcawar	“to consult each other”
ΘΘ.ΛE / ssafḍ	“to send”	→	ΘΘ.Λ.E / msafad	“to see off (one another)”
ΛΘ / aws	“to help”	→	Λ.Λ.Θ / myawas	“to help each other”

The perfective form of verbs like ΛO / yr “to call” and \*Q / zṛ “to see, to watch” is identical to the simple form.

*Q. / zṛa	“to have seen”	→	CC*Q. / mmzṛa	“to have seen each other”
IΛ. / nya	“to have killed”	→	CCIΛ. / mmnya	“to have quarreled with each other”
ΛO. / yra	“to have called”	→	CCΛO. / mmyra	“to have called each other”

### - The imperfective form

The reciprocal form is generally characterized by the prefixation of tt- / tt-:

*Q / zṛ	“to see”	→	ttCC*Q. / ttmmzṛa	“to see each other frequently”
IΛ / nya	“to kill”	→	ttCCIΛ. / ttmmnya	“to quarrel with each other”
Θ.ΛΛ / ΘΘ.ΛΛ // sawl / ssiwl	“to talk”	→	ttCΘ.ΛΛ / ttmsawal	“to talk to each other frequently”

## 2.4. Overderived forms

An overderived form is a form that combines two derivational prefixes with different values:

	<b>Gloss</b>	<b>Derivation</b>	<b>Overderivation</b>	
		<i>Causative Form</i>	<i>Passive + Causative</i>	<i>Reciprocal + Causative</i>
ffy / ffy	“to go out”	ssufy / ssufy	ttusufy / ttusufy	msufay / msufay
ggall / ggall	“to swear”	sgall / sgall		msgall / msgall
ny / ny	“to kill”			msny / msny

The forms မြတ်သူ / msufay, ထုတ်မြတ် / ttusufy, မြတ်သူ / msny and မြတ်ဆူ / msgall are overderived verbs. These forms show that the causative affix စု- / s- can be conjoined with the reciprocal morpheme မ / m or with the passive morpheme ထုတ် / tu- (bringing about complex affixes such as မြတ် / ms-and ထုတ်စု- / ttus-). The complex affix စုလ် / sm- is also used as in: စုလ်နှေ့ဆူ / smiggir “to get two people to meet”, စုလ်သူ / smay and စုလ်သူ / smnya “to cause a quarrel”.

### 3. Aspectual particles

Very few contexts are observed where the aorist and perfective verbs stand alone. They are, frequently, preceded by particles, dubbed aspectual particles. These aspectual particles are set out below:

- ဝ / ar, မဲ / la, လဲ / da and ဇူး / aqqa: They are used, in a mutually exclusive fashion, before verbs which are conjugated in the imperfective theme.

ဝ သံသံလဲ. / ar ittddu.	“He always leaves.”
ဇူး သံသံဝ. / aqqa iggur.	“He is walking.”
လဲ စုစုစုလဲ စုပဲ. / da tssirid taqut.	“She is washing the wool.”
မဲ သံသံသံသဲ. / la ntinzip.	“We are singing.”

- လ / ad and ဝလ / rad (or ဝ / ra): These particles precede verbs in the aorist form. လ / ad expresses the future and a number of other modal values such as wishing, fear, etc. ဝလ / rad, conversely, expresses the future only.

ဝလ စုမဲ ဝလသံစု. / ad syn adlis.	“They will buy the book.”
ဝသဲ ဝလ စုလဲဒဲ. / riy ad iddu.	“I want him to go.”
ဝလ စုခေါ် ဝလသီ. / rad idr udfli.	“The snow will fall.”

- **O.Λ / rad** (**O.** / **ra** is the abbreviated form) has another variant **Θ.Λ / sad** that expresses certainty in the future:

**Θ.Λ ΣO.Λ.** / sad irah. “He will surely go.”

- The particle **◦Λ / ad** has two variants, **Η◦ / ya** and **O◦ / ra**, which are used in environments where **◦Λ / ad** is excluded. **O◦ / ra** is used with the aorist or the imperfective; **Η◦ / ya** is used with the participial form after **◦Σ / ay** and **◦Λ / ad**:

(A) <b>Ε◦ΕΕΣΘ◦ ΣΗ◦ Η◦ ΣO.ΛΙ.</b>	“It is his brother who will go.”
(d) memmis ay ya irahn.	
<b>ΣΛ◦ ΣΗ◦ +◦ΣΛ ? /</b> chal ay ya tucd ?	“How many / much will you give?”

The topicalizers **◦Λ / ad** and **◦Σ / ay** are realised as **◦ / a**.

#### 4. Verb phrase

A verb phrase is made up of a verb and its complement(s). It may, nonetheless, take the form of a single verb without complements.

**ΟΛΜΙ.** / rwln. “They fled.”

The verb phrase in the afore-mentioned example consists of a verbal stem **ΟΛΜ / rwl** along with its person, gender and number marker **Ι / n** (cf. 5.1.2.a).

The verb along with its inflectional markers are inseparable; the second singular person of the imperative is, nonetheless, an exception because it lacks any overt inflectional person markers: **ΚCΕ / kcm** “get in”, **ΕΖΣΕ / qqim** “sit down”.

The minimal structure of the verb phrase may, therefore, be formulated in the following fashion:

**(affix) + verb stem + (affix)**

The form in the example above may well be extended by adding a postposed noun phrase that has the function of a lexical subject (usually optional).

**ΣΗΗΨ (◦ΟΘ◦).** / iffy (urba). “He got out, (the boy).”

Other than the lexical subject, the verb phrase may include a complement or a bunch of complements depending on the nature of the verb.

**(affix) + verb stem + (affix) + (lexical subject) + complement**

## 4.1. Intransitive verbs

Put more broadly, this sort of verbs do not have direct or indirect objects, as is the case for the following verbs: ՀՀԿ / ffy, Ք.Վ / րահ and ԸՆ + / mmt.

ՏՐԾԵ :ԻԹԱՅ. / ikcm unbdu.	“Summer is here.”
ՏՔ.Վ ՏԵԼՈՒ. / րահ idnnač.	“He went yesterday.”
ՏԸՆ+ / immut.	“He is dead.”

## 4.2. Direct transitive verbs

Direct transitive verbs have direct object complements. The following elements can serve as direct objects of transitive verbs:

- An ordinary noun:

ՏՀԾՈ ՏՊԱՅԵԼ. /                    “He put the clothes out to dry.”  
ifsr ihdumn.

- A proper noun:

ՏՄQ. ԸՆԸ. /                    “He saw Mama.”  
izra Mama.

- A noun phrase:

ՏՄQ. ԸՆԸ ՏԸՆԸ /                    “He saw his nephew.”  
izra memmis n umas.

- A numeral noun phrase:

ՏՄQ. ՑԼՈՒ (I) ՏՕԹՈՒՏԸ. /                    “He saw two girls.”  
izra snat (n) trbatin.

- An indefinite pronoun:

ՏՄQ. ԽՈ. /                    “He saw something.”  
izra kra.

- A demonstrative pronoun:

ՏՄQ. ԱՅ. /                    “He saw this (one).”  
izra wa.

- A possessive noun:

ՏՄQ. ԽՈ. /                    “He saw something.”  
izra kra.

ԷՄQ. ԱԷI. / “He saw mine.”  
izra winu.

### 4.3. Indirect transitive verbs

An indirect transitive verb is a verb whose complement is introduced by a preposition:

ԷԿՕ. Է :ԷԽԽ. Ո Ո. / iyrə i udggal nns.	“He called his father-in-law.”
ԾԸՏՄԻ Ծ :Ը. Ծ. / ssiwlñ i umnay.	“They talked to the knight.”
ՒԵՂ ԽՀ :ՄQ. / tðr xf uzru.	“She fell on a stone.”

### 4.4. Symmetrical verbs

These verbs keep the same form irrespective of the nature of voice, active or passive.

1.a. ԷQՄԸ Ը. Խ.Ը. / irzm as axam.	“He opened the (door of the) house for her.”
1.b. ԷQՄԸ ։Խ.Ը. / irzm uxam.	“The (door of the) house is open.”
2.a. ՒԱՂ ։Մ. ԶԵՀ. / tddz azarif.	“She ground alum.”
2.b. ՀԱՂ ։Մ. ԶԵՀ. / iddz uzarif.	“Alum is ground.”
3.a. ԷՂՎԻ Ւ. ԼԱՅՈՒ. / iqqn tawwurt.	“He closed the door.”
3.4. ՒՂՎԻ Ւ. ԼԱՅՈՒ. / tqqn tawwurt.	“The door is closed.”

In the sentences (1a), (2a) and (3a), all the verbs are transitive and have a direct object. Conversely, the sentences (1b), (2b) and (3b) are passive structures even if the verbs do not have morphological passive markers (*cf. 5.2.2*). Importantly, the direct object of their active equivalents becomes a lexical subject with the role of a patient and takes the construct state inflectional morphology (:Խ.Ը / uxam, :Մ. ԶԵՀ / uzarif, Ւ. ԼԱՅՈՒ / twwurt). As regards the verbs, no mismatch is observed between their active and passive voice forms. And the only observed change is the agreement that holds between the verb and the new subject.

Let it also be noted that a number of verbs admit the two passive forms, as the verb **ΛΛ \*** / ddz “to grind” shows below:

<b>ΣΛΛ *</b> :* .QΣΗ . / iddz uzařif.	“Alum is ground.”
<b>Σ††.ΛΛ *</b> :* .QΣΗ . / ittwaddz uzařif	“Alum was ground.”

#### 4.5. Link verbs

In general terms, a link verb introduces a quality noun and links the subject to the nominal predicate. The sentence with a link verb is characterized by the presence of the verb **X** / g which has the meaning of “to be, to do”. In the remainder of this section, only the first meaning will be addressed. In the examples set out below, it is the nouns **:CCl** / uccn, **.ΗΗΗ.Λ** / aflah and **.\*X\*X\*.H** / azgg<sup>w</sup>ay that function as the nominal predicates of the sentences, given their essential semantic contribution to the meaning of the sentences.

<b>Ε.ΘΣΙ ΣΧ. :CCl</b> . / masin iga uccn.	“Massine is a wolf.”
<b>Θ.Θ.Θ ΣΧ. .ΗΗΗ.Λ</b> . / babas iga aflah.	“His father is a farmer.”
<b>ΣΧ. .X*X*.H</b> . / iga azgg <sup>w</sup> ay.	“It is red.”

At the syntactic level, the copula **X** / g is a full-fledged verb. It does not only behave like an ordinary verb in the sentence but it is also conjugated in the various verbal themes and receives the same verbal morphological markers.

**X / Xx // g / gg + NP:**

<b>ΣΧ. .ΠΟ.Η</b> . / iga awray.	“It is yellow.”
<b>ΣΧ. .ΙΥΕ.Θ</b> . / iga anymas.	“He is a journalist.”
<b>†Σ. †.ΙΥΕ.Θ†</b> . / tga tanymast.	“She is a journalist.”

#### 4.6. Particles of orientation **Λ / d** and **Ι / n**

**Λ (ΣΛ)** / d (id) and **Ι (ΣΙ)** / nn (inn) are two particles that are used to indicate the orientation of an action. **Λ / d** orients the action towards the speaker, while **Ι / nn** orients it towards the interlocutor. These two directional particles can be combined with dynamic verbs as well as with verbs that presuppose movement.

- With dynamic verbs

Σ:ΣΚ. Λ. / yucka d.	“He came here.”
Σ:ΣΚ. ΙΙ. / yucka nn.	“He came (over there).”
ΣΗΣΗΨ Λ. / iffy d.	“He went out (from here).”

- With ordinary verbs

Σ:Η. Λ. / yufa d.	“He found (over here).”
Σ:Η. ΙΙ. / yufa nn.	“He found (over there).”
ΣΘΘΞΠΛ Λ. / issiwl d.	“He talked (here).”

The two particles can express a temporal value (ΣΚΚ. + ΣΙΙ / ikka tt inn “once upon a time”):

ΣΛΛ. Λ :ΙΘΛΑ. / idda d unbdu.	“Summer is drawing near.”
ΣΕΖΖΞΟ Λ. / imqqr d.	“He has become old.”

More often than not, the particles Λ / d and Ι / ΙΙ-n / nn obtain after the verb. However, in some specific contexts and with a particular range of morphemes, the particles hold in a preverbal position.

- The aspectual morphemes οΛ / ad, ΟοΛ / rad, Ήο / la and Λο / da:

οΛ Λ Σ.Ο. / ad d yas.	“He will come (over here).”
ΟοΛ ο.ΠΙΙ ΙΙ. ΠΞΨ ο.Π.Ι. / rad awn nn awiy aman.	“I will bring you water (from there).”
Λο Λ +ΛΛΑΞΙ ΗΞΟΙΨ. / da d ttddun yurny.	“They will visit us.”

- The negative morpheme :Ο / ur:

:Ο Λ Σ.ΟΞ. / ur d yusi.	“He did not come here.”
:Ο ΙΙ ΣΛΛΞ. / ur nn iddi.	“He did not go (there).”

- Interrogative pronouns:

ΠΞ Λ ΣΗΣΗΨΙ ? / wi d iffyn ?	“Who got out (from here)?”
Εο οΛ Λ Σ.ΣΚΛΙ ? / ma ad d yuckan ?	“Who arrived (here)?”
Εο ΙΙ Σ.ΣΚΛΙ ? / ma nn yuckan ?	“Who came (over there)?”
ΣΘ Λ ΣΟΛΠΙ ? / is d irwl ?	“Did he flee (from here)?”
ΣΘ ΙΙ ΣΟΛΠΙ ? / is nn irwl ?	“Did he flee (from there)?”

- *Subordinators:*

ԷՕԾ Ա ՏՅՈ ԾՈԾ ԽԵԿ ԶՒ. / mri d yusa iri nniy ak t.	“If he had come (over here), I would have told it to you.”
ԷՕԾ Խ ՏՅՈ ԾՈԾ ԽԵԿ ԶՒ. / mri nn yusa iri nniy ak t.	“If he had come (over there), I would have told it to you.”
ԸՆՉԾ Ա ՏՅՈ ՏՅՈ ԾՈԾ ԽԵԿ ԶՒ. / mqqar d idda ur as samhy.	“Even if he comes (over here), I will not excuse him.”
ԾՈՎԻ ՕԹ ԽԵԿ Ա ՏՅՈ ԾՈԾ ԽԵԿ ԶՒ. / ssny arba lli d yusan.	“I know the boy who came (over here).”
ԾՈՎԻ ՕԹ ԽԵԿ ԽԵԿ Ա ՏՅՈ ԾՈԾ ԽԵԿ ԶՒ. / ssny arba i ya nn yasn.	“I know the boy who will come (over there).”

The particles **Ա / d** and **Խ / nn** always obtain after the direct object pronouns, and are realized respectively as **ՏԱ / id** and **ՏԻ / in** if they follow an obstruent dental stop.

ԸՆԾ + ՏԱ ! / awi t id !	“Take it!”
ԸՆԾ + ՏԻ ! / awi t in !	“Take it!”
ԾԿՏԻ + ՏԱ . / syin tt id.	“They bought it.”

## CHAPTER 6

### The preposition

The preposition is a part of speech that belongs to the category of link words. The central function of a preposition is to link up words and combine them in larger constructions. The preposition never appears without an object; the latter may take the form of a noun, pronoun or another preposition.

There are two sorts of prepositions: simple and complex. They have different semantic values, such as spatio-temporal, instrumental, directional and possessive, among other values.

#### 1. Ordinary prepositions

##### a. *The preposition l / n*

Depending on the context where it is used, the preposition l / n “of, to” may have different semantic values, such as possession, belonging, determination and origin (source).

###### - *Possession*

•L:O I °E. / amur n uma	“my brother’s share”
:O+: I LI:W+L. / urtu n wultma	“my sister’s orchard”

###### - *Belonging*

*M:HQ. I I +.WELSI / zzefran n taliwin	“saffron of Taliwin”
ΣCΛΣ. *I I .OOΣΗ / imdyazn n arrif	“the singers of Rif”

###### - *Determination*

.SS:O I KE:ΘQ / ayyur n ktribr	“the month of October”
ΣC+ I +C. O+ / ict n tmyart	“a woman”

- *Origin and provenance*

• <b>ء</b> و <b>ل</b>   + <b>و</b> <b>خ</b>   / aman n trgʷa	“the channel water”
س <b>و</b> <b>م</b> و <b>ل</b>   + <b>و</b> <b>س</b>   / islman n wasif	“the fish of the river”

- *Matter, nature and qualification*

+ <b>ت</b> م <b>م</b> ن <b>ت</b>   : <b>م</b> : <b>ك</b> ل <b>ي</b>   / tammnt n uzuknni	“the honey of thyme”
+ <b>ت</b> <b>س</b> <b>و</b> <b>ي</b> <b>ت</b>   : <b>م</b> : <b>ق</b> ل   / tisynst n uzrf	“silver fibula”

**b. The preposition ئ / i “to, for”**

The preposition ئ / i “to, for” expresses attribution or destination and usually precedes the indirect object of a transitive verb.

ه <b>ك</b> ل <b>ي</b> ئ + <b>و</b> <b>ت</b> . / fkiy tarasut i wumak.	“I have given the key to your brother”
ئ <b>و</b> <b>ل</b> ئ : <b>م</b> : <b>ك</b> ل <b>ي</b> . / isawl i udggal nns.	“He talked to his son-in-law”

**c. The preposition ئ / s**

The preposition ئ / s “to, towards, with, by means of” has directional (towards, to), instrumental (with, by means of) or causal values.

• *Direction*

أ <b>ل</b> ا   ئ + <b>و</b> <b>خ</b>   / ddan s tmazirt.	“They went to their homeland.”
أ <b>ل</b> ا   ئ ئ + <b>و</b> <b>خ</b>   / ad nddu s mrirt.	“We shall go to Mrirt.”
+ <b>ل</b> ا   ئ ئ + <b>و</b> <b>خ</b>   / tdda s midlt.	“She went to Midlt.”

When the preposition ئ / s expresses a directional value, it can conjoin with the prepositions ھو / yr or أ.و / dar “at, towards” along different orders.

- ھو + ئ / yr + s expresses direction and does not exercise any effect on the case of the noun that follows, i.e. the noun does not take the construct state:

أ <b>ل</b> ا ھو ئ + <b>و</b> <b>خ</b>   / ddan yr s ahfir.	“They went to Ahfir.”
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- ◎ + Λ◦Ο / s + dar expresses the notion of “being at someone’s house”:

ΛΛΞΨ ◎ Λ◦Ο Ξ“Ε◦./ ddiy s dar gʷma.	“I went to my brother’s home.”
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- Means

Σ*Q◦ + ◎ + ΣΕΕ◦.ΛΣΙ   ◎. / izra t s tiṭṭawin nns.	“He saw him with his own eyes.”
ΛΛ◦Ι ◎ :Ε◦.Q. / ddan s uḍar.	“They went on foot”

- Cause

ΕΕ◦+Ψ ◎ Η◦Λ. / mmuty s fad.	“I am extremely thirsty.”
ΣΠΛΗ◦ ◎ + Λ◦ΟΣ. / iwhl s twuri.	“He is tired because of work.”

#### d. The preposition Ξ/g

The preposition Ξ / g “in, at”, which may well surface as Η / y, Ξ / x and Λ / h, expresses a spatio-temporal value.

- Spatial localization

ΣΗΞΨ + Ξ + Λ◦Ο. / ufiy t g taddart.	“I found him / it in the house.”
ΣΜΜ◦ Ξ ΣΞΨΟ. / illa g yiyrn.	“He is in Ighrm.”

- Temporal localization

Ο◦ΛΙ Ξ ΣΞΕ. / rahm g yid.	“They went at night.”
Λ◦ΣΕΕ◦.Q ΣΛΗ◦ Ξ + ΞΟΟ. / da iṭṭar udfl g tgrst.	“Snow falls in winter.”

#### e. The preposition ΛΣ / di

The preposition ΛΣ / di “in, at (space)” expresses localization in space. It is realised as ΛΞ / dg before a vowel-initial noun.

ΛΞ Λ◦.Ε◦Ι / dg waman.	“in water”
ΛΣ + Ε◦Ο. / di tmurt nny.	“in our country”
ΛΣ + ΣΕΕ◦.ΛΣΙ / di tiṭṭawin	“In Tetouan”

### f. The preposition **ヰX / zg**

The preposition **ヰX / zg** “from”, and its variants **ଓX / sg** and **ヰξ / zi**, express spatio-temporal origin and provenance.

ଓΛ IΘΛ. <b>ヰX</b> ઉ.ଓ. / ad nbda zg wassa.	“We shall start as of today.”
ତୋ. ନ <b>ヰX</b> ଏ.ଟୋ. / tusa d zg Tanja.	“She came from Tangier.”
<b>ヰξ</b> ଓକ୍ଷା. / zi rxxu	“From now on”
<b>ヰX</b> ଖାଲୀ. / zg idmad	“just now”

### g. The prepositions **୧୦ / yr** and **ନୋ / dar**

The prepositions **୧୦ / yr** and **ନୋ / dar** “towards, at” express a whole range of semantic values such as direction, time and possession.

- *Direction*

This value is expressed by the preposition **୧୦ / yr** that has the same semantic value as **ଓ / s**, i.e. directional.

ଓ.ୱ୦. <b>୧୦</b> ନୋ! / awra yr da.	“Come here!”
ନୋସୁ <b>୧୦</b> ଖୁମିମା. / ddiy yr g <sup>w</sup> lmima.	“I went to Goulmima.”
ତୋଳୁ <b>୧୦</b> ଖୁଲୁ. / truh yr gmas.	“She went to see her brother.”
ନେହାରୁ <b>ନୋ</b> ତଥାରୁ. / nmm <sup>z</sup> ra dar tgmmi.	“We have seen each other near the house.”

- *Time*

**୧୦ / yr** may also serve the semantic value of time and can be followed by the preposition **ଓ / s**.

ନଚ୍ଚା. ଓରତୋ: <b>୧୦</b> ଖୁଲୁଖି. / ncca sksu yr imkli.	“We had couscous at lunch.”
<b>୧୦</b> ତଥାରୁ / yr tmddit	“at night, in the afternoon.”
<b>୧୦</b> ଓ ଅନ୍ତର୍ରାତାରୁ / yr s anqqr n tafukt	“at sunrise”

### *h. The preposition **XH** / xf*

The preposition **XH** / xf “on, concerning, for” can appear in an abbreviated form **X** / x. The preposition takes its full form when it precedes an affixal personal pronoun (**X.H** / xaf, **ΨΣΗ** / yif ...). **XH** / xf denotes the general meaning of “on”, but can also mean the idea of superiority, domination and force.

ΘΟΘ Ὡ.Ι <b>XH</b> +ΕΕΘΜ. ! / srs aman xf tħblat.	“Put the water on the table!”
ΘΕ: <b>XH</b> KQ.E ! / bdu xf kraq !	“Divide into three!”
₩. ΣΚΚ. + <b>XH</b> X.Ο. / la ikkat xf gmas.	“He sides with his brother.”
ΣΚΚ. <b>XH</b> Σ.ΟΙ. / ikka xf imzurn.	“He passed through Imzouren.”

### *i. The prepositions **.XΛ** / agd, **Λ** / d*

The prepositions **.XΛ** / agd and **Λ** / d mean “with, in company of”. The first preposition has another variant which is **.KΛ** / akd.

+ΗΕΨΥ <b>.XΛ</b> +ΣΛΛ:ΚΚ.Η ΗΟ. / tħfy agd tmddukkal nns..	“She went out with her friends.”
+✳.Q+ <b>.XΛ</b> :QΕΕ.Ι / tħyārt agd urmman	“grapes and pomegranate”
Σ.Ι Λ :ΣΛΛ:ΚΚ.Η ΗΟ. / imun d umddakkʷl nns..	“He accompanied his friend.”

### *j. The preposition **XO** / gr*

The preposition **XO** / gr “between, among” designates distance between two points in space or time. The preposition has a whole range of variants, namely **I.O** / jar, **|XO** / ngr and **Σ|XO** / ingr.

<b>XO</b> Ή.ΜΛΨ+ Λ ΣΙΘΞ / gr wazdwit d imnsi	“between snack time and dinner”
<b>I.O</b> Ε.Ε. Λ ΣΣΨΟΣ / jar tħa d yiym.	“between Tata and Ighrem”
•II. Ή.Μ. Σ XO. +Η ! / ajj awal a ingratty !	“keep this conversation between us!”

### **k. The preposition əℳ / əO - al / ar**

The preposition əℳ / əO - al / ar “till, until” designates time and space limits. This preposition exhibits an important peculiarity in the sense that the noun that follows it does not take the construct state marker.

ΣΛΛ。 əO əCℳCℳ. / idda ar amzmiz.	“He went to Amzmiz.”
ℳℳ ɔℳℳ. əℳ ɔE. Ql / zg yixf al idarn	“from head to toe”
əO t. əCℳCℳ / ar tamddit	“till the evening”
əℳ A。 / al da	“(till) here”

### **l. The preposition Θℳ。 / bla**

The preposition Θℳ。 / bla “without” denotes absence, lack, exclusion or deprivation. Not unlike əℳ / əO - al / ar, Θℳ。 / bla does not require the noun that comes after it to take the construct state inflectional marker.

Λ。 ɔt̪t̪ℳℳ. əℳ。 əℳ. / da ithffaf bla aman.	“He shaves without using water. (He is clever)”
ΣΛΛ。 Λ əℳ。 ɔℳ. Qℳℳ. / idda d bla iqaridn.	“He came with no money on him.”

## **2. Complex prepositions**

This sort of prepositions is made up of two or three conjoined prepositions, one of which has an adverbial function. More often than not, the preposition I / n or Σ / i follows the preposition that has an adverbial function. There are, nonetheless, a host of other situations where the adverbial preposition is preceded by other prepositions such as the locative Ξ / Ψ // g / γ, the directional Θ / s or the spatio-temporal ℳℳ / zg.

ℳℳ I / Σ // zdat n / i	“in front of”
əℳℳ I, t. əℳℳ I // amnid n, tanila n	“opposite”
ℳℳ I, əℳℳ I, ℳℳℳ I // nnig n, afla n, iggi n	“on, over, above”
ℳℳℳ I / izdar n	“under”
ΘQQ. I / br̪a n	“outside”
E.Q. I / ḍarat n	“behind”

X + t.č. / g tama n	“near, next to”
◎ Ա.Ա.Տ. / s wadday i / n	“under”
◎ Ո. / s nnj i	“on, over””
Մ. Ա.Հ.Օ, Մ. Ա.Հ.Խ.Օ // zi dffar, zi dffir	“behind”
Կ. Օ. / yr s	“towards”
Օ. Օ. / s dar	“at someone’s house”

Խ. Հ.Խ.Օ / t.պ.Օ. / nqim diffir n tsyart.	“We sat behind the tree.”
Է. Ա. Տ. / t.պ.Օ. / illa zdat n taddart.	“He is in front of the house.”
Խ. Հ. Տ. / t.պ.Օ. / ggin tawwurt zdat i tgzirt.	“They put the door opposite the island.”
Է. Ա. Տ. / t.պ.Օ. / illa mnid n uybalu.	“He is in front of the well.”
Ծ. Ծ. Ծ. / t.պ.Օ. / ssrsy t nnag n tnakṛa.	“I put it on the mat.”

### 3. The morphology of prepositions

Depending on the context where it appears, a preposition can take a broad range of forms. Of prime importance among the contexts of use of prepositions, we mention the following.

#### 3.1. A preposition followed by a noun or a free pronoun

Before any nominal (noun, free pronoun, demonstrative pronoun, possessive pronoun), the preposition surfaces unscathed. Often, the noun that follows the preposition takes the construct state form (*cf. 3.1.3.*). The only exceptions that hold are the prepositions ա / al “till, until” and Թ. / bla “without” which are followed by nouns in the free state form.

Ա. + t.č.Օ. / di + tamurt	→	Ա. + t.č.Օ. / di tmurt	“in the country”
Օ. + Ժ.Օ. / s + afus	→	Օ. Ժ.Օ. / s ufus	“with the hand”
Ա. + Ե.Ա.Ա.Ր.Վ. / d + amddakkʷl	→	Ա. Ե.Ա.Ա.Ր.Վ. / d umddakkʷl	“with the friend”

I + .ΘXX“.Θ / n + asgg <sup>w</sup> as	→	I :ΘXX“.Θ / n usgg <sup>w</sup> as	“of the year”
XH + .XO+ΣH / xf + agrtl	→	XH :XO+ΣH / xf ugrtl	“on the mat”

When the object of a preposition is vowel-initial, some prepositions are pronounced differently because of phonetic assimilation phenomena.

ΛΣ + ΣHΟ.Ι di + ifran	→ [ΛΧΣΗΟ.Ι] [dgifran]	“in the caves”
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### 3.2. A preposition followed by an affixal pronoun

Ordinary prepositions, of most concern here the prepositions which consist of one letter, take their full form (through the reappearance of the vowels which are absent in the basic forms of the prepositions) when they are followed by affixal personal pronouns:

XH (X / H) / xf (x / f) + 3 <sup>rd</sup> pron. sing	→	X.ΗΘ / ΥΣΗΘ // xafs / yifs
ΛΣ / di + 3 <sup>rd</sup> pron. sing	→	Λ.ΣΘ / days
X / Υ // g / y + 3 <sup>rd</sup> pron. sing	→	XΣΘ / ΛΣΧΘ // gis / digs
ΥΟ / yr + 3 <sup>rd</sup> pron. sing	→	Υ.ΟΘ / Υ.ΟΘ / ΥΣΟΘ // yars / yurs / yirs
Θ / s + 3 <sup>rd</sup> pron. sing	→	ΘΟΘ / ΘΣΘ // srs / sis

Scarce are the prepositions that preserve their form irrespective of the element that follows. One such preposition is Λ.Ο / dar, as set out in the example below:

Λ.Ο ΣΛΛΟ / dar iddr “at Idder’s house”	→	Λ.ΟΟ / dars “at his house”
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The prepositions ΣH / ΣΟ // al / ar “till, until” and ΘΗ. / bla “without” exhibit a peculiar oddity; they are never followed by affixal pronouns.

*Table 1: ordinary prepositions and context of use*

<i>Context Preposition</i>	<i>Before a noun</i>	<i>Before an affixal pron.<sup>10</sup></i>
l / n	l ɿ.ɿ.l / n waman	llø / ɿlø // nns / ins
ɿ / i	ɿ tħo:xħ / i tfruxt	ø.ø / as
X (H) / g (y)	X :θo:zħ / g ubrid	Xzø / Azxø // gis / digs
Ø / s	Ø :ħ:Ø / s uhus	Øzø, ØoØ // sis, srs
Xħ (X) / xf (x)	Xħ zżxħ / xf yixf	Xħħø / ħżżeħħø // xafs / yifs
ħ / f	ħ :ħo:θ / f uyrab	ħħm.ø / flas
A / d	A :θħe:l.θ / d uslmad	Azø / Azħħø // dis / dids
Az / di	Az :żżax.ż / dg uxham	Azħħø / Ażżax // digs / dags
*X ( *z, ØX) / xg (zi, sg)	*X :ħo:ż / zg udrar	*żżexħø / *żżax // zzigs / zzags
ø.żħ / ø.ż / agd / ag	ø.żħ :o:θ.ø / agd urba	ø.żżexħø / ø.żżax // akids / agids
ħo / yr	ħo :ż.ħo.ħ / yr uzayar	ħo.ħø / ħżo.ħø / ħżoħħø // yars / yurs / yirs
A.ħ / dar	A.ħ .ħħe:l.ħ / dar ħmmu	A.ħ.ħø / dars
XO (IXO, I.ħ / gr (ngr, jar)	XO zħo.ħħe:l / gr isaffn	XO.ħħø / gratsn
øħ / ø.ħ / al / ar	øħ ġżżexx / al figig	Never before an affixal pronoun
Θħ.ħ / bla	Θħ.ħ .ħħo.ħ / bla aqrab	Never before an affixal pronoun

#### 4. Prepositions and their semantic values

The semantic value of a preposition ensues, in large measure, from the elements that surround it, i.e. the verb and the object of the preposition. This

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10- To make things easy for the reader, the examples are given in the third person singular.

is why some prepositions are polysemic, as is illustrated in the following examples:

ΣΛΛ。◦ΧΛ +ΘΟΠΙΣ+ / idda agd tsrwit.	“He went early in the morning.”
ΣΛΛ。◦ΧΛ :Η+Σ◦. / idda agd ultmas.	“He went with his sister.”

The meaning of some prepositions is, nonetheless, relatively stable and easily identifiable. Of the different semantic values that prepositions have, we may well mention the following:

- Attribution: Σ / i
- Location: Χ / Η // g / γ, ΚΧ / zg, ΛΣ / di, ΗΟ / yr, ΧΚ / xf, Ο / ar
- Direction: ◦ / s, ΗΟ / yr, Λ◦Ο / dar
- Time: Χ / Η // g / γ, Ο / ar, ΛΣ / di
- Instrument: ◦ / s
- Possession and belonging: l / n
- Accompaniment: Λ / d, ζΧΛ / ζΚΛ // agd / akd

## 5. Prepositional phrase

The prepositional phase is any phrase which consists of a preposition followed by a noun phrase or any equivalent nominal (independent pronouns as well as affixal, demonstrative, indefinite and possessive pronouns).

Prep. + noun	Ο :Η:◦ / s ufsus	“with the hand”
Prep. + indep. pron.	Ο Ι+◦ / s ntta	“with / (thanks to) him”
Prep. + affixal pron.	Λ◦Σ / dagi	“in / on me”
Prep. + dem. pron.	◦Ο t◦ / ar ta	“until (we reach) this one”
Prep. + numeral	Ο ΚQ◦Ε / s krad	“by three”
Prep. + poss. pron.	◦ΧΛ ΙΣΙ◦ / agd winu	“with mine (plr.)”

## 5.1. The object of a preposition

The object of a preposition can either be a noun or an affixal pronoun (see 6.3.1 and 6.3.2). More often than not, the object of a preposition takes the construct state form; the only exception that stands in fundamental conflict with this rule is the case of the two prepositions  $\circ\text{O}$  / ar and  $\Theta\text{M}\circ$  / bla, which are always followed by a noun in the free state form.

$\text{Y}\text{O} : \text{XX.}\text{E}$ / yr uxxam	“to the house” (CS.)
$\text{O} : \text{H}\text{:}\text{O}$ / s uhus	“with the hand” (CS.)
$\text{H} : \text{Y}\text{O.}\text{E}$ / f uyrab	“on the wall” (CS.)
$\Theta\text{M}\circ . \text{E}\text{O.}\text{E}$ / bla aqrab	“without the bag”
$\circ\text{O} . \text{l}\text{:}$ / ar anu	“until the well (is reached)”

The preposition along with its object make up the prepositional phrase. Depending on the preposition used, the prepositional phrase may well function as a noun complement, an indirect object complement or an adverbial phrase.

Let it be noted that the role of affixal pronouns is to substitute the nouns or phrases governed by the preposition. To the exception of  $\xi$  / i which blends with indirect object pronouns (*cf. 4.1.2.b*), all the other prepositions are compatible with the putative (preposition + affixal personal pronoun) paradigm addressed in (4.1.2.d).

## 5.2. The syntactic function of a prepositional phrase

The function of a prepositional phrase depends on the relationship that it has with other constituents of the sentence as well as on the type of preposition used. Among these functions, we may well distinguish between:

- a. Indirect object
- b. Noun complement
- c. Adverb phrase

### *a. Prepositional phrase as an indirect object*

The prepositional phrase assumes the function of an indirect object when it is part of a verbal phrase and it is introduced by the preposition  $\xi$  / i along with its object. The prepositional phrase can be reduced to a linked structure

made up of a preposition and an affixal pronoun; the linked structure has the function of an indirect object of the verb.

„ԱՌ + ԹՈՒ ՞ Ա Տ Թ ՈՒ Ր ! / awy tabrat ad i babak!	“Take this letter to your father!”
„ԱՌ ՞ Ը Ի ՞ / awy as tt !	“Take it to him!”

Prepositional phrases that function as indirect objects consist of the preposition **ξ / i** along with:

- a noun:

◦Λ ΣΘΣΛΗ Σ ΕΘΕΞΟ ! / ad isiwl i memmis ! “That he talks to his son!”

- an independent pronoun:

**ΣΙΛΓ. ΣΖ. ΚΕΕΙ Σ ΙΤ+. :Ο Λ Σ ΡΣΣΣ.**  
iwca iqarıdın i ntta ur d i kyyi.  
“He gave the money to him not to you.”

- an affixal pronoun:

ԱՅԵԿ ԿՈՉՈՒ. / ddiy yurs. “I was at his house.”

- a demonstrative pronoun:

ΣΙΣ + Σ ΛΕΛΛ ! / ini t i winn ! “Tell it to that one.”

- an indefinite pronoun:

ተነመሬው / tñnam t i kra. “You told it to someone.”

- a possessive pronoun:

ΣΙΙ. + Σ ΛΣΙΙΚ. / inna t i winnk. “He told it to yours (to your friends).”

**b. Prepositional phrase as a noun complement**

The noun complement consists of the genitive preposition *l / n* followed by one of the following elements:

- a noun:

ڦڻ ڦ ٽ ڻ ڻ ڻ / imi n taddart	“the door of the house”
ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ / ttajin n islman	“a fish tajine”

- an adverb:

□ΣΛΛΙ   *ΣΣΚ / middn n zik	“our ancestors”
▫ΞΛΛΞ   ΣΞΛΛ / amuddu n imal	“The trip of next year”

- an affixal pronoun:

॰ጀጀጀጀ ወ／ ayyis nns	“his horse”
ጀጀጀ ወ／ ifx nns	“his head”

After the preposition *l / n*, personal affixes take special forms (*cf.* 4.1.2.c).

### *c. Prepositional phrase as an adverb phrase*

The prepositional phrase may assume the function of an adverbial phrase if it is introduced by prepositions other than Σ / i “to” and I / n “of” (*cf.* 6.1 and 6.2). The adverb phrase may express diverse semantic values, such as:

- time:

₩. ΣΕΕ. Q :ΛΗΛ X +XΟΩ†. / “Snow falls in winter.”  
la ittar udfi g tgrst.

- location:

ፊላለ。 ተ ተኩረዋል。 / idda s tinml.	“He went to school.”
እ。ወጥሮች ዘዴ ተደዱጋች ! / g aksum xf tmssi !	“Put the meat on the fire!”
ያ፡ ተ እኔ ተከ፡ዎች。 / yus d zi ssuq !	“He came back from the souk.”
ፊላለ。 አ ተዥ ይርካኝ。 / idda d sg imnyi.	“He has returned from the fight.”

- means:

ΣΧΑΛΛ Σ :Η:Σ. / ixddm s ufsu.

- cause:

ΣΕΣΩΝ ΘΙΟΥΝΕΣ. / immut “She is dying of cold.”  
συσμμιδ.

- manner:

ፊለለ ለ ተበዝዣ. / idda d s trwla.	“He came running.”
ፊቃዬ ለ ተመሬዣ. / iffy s tazzla.	“He went out running.”

- accompaniment:

ፊርማ ዥኂ ሆ. / imun ag wa.	“He came with this one.”
ፊርጋ ዥኂ ዓይ. / icca ag umas.	“He ate with his brother.”

## CHAPTER 7

### The adverb

An adverb is a grammatical category that modifies the meaning of a verb. Put more precisely, an adverb modifies the process and state expressed by the verb:

ΣΧΙ ΧΣΚΚ. / ign zikk.	“He slept early.”
◦Ο +Θ◦Π◦Μ◦ .ΕΕ◦Ο. / ar tsawalm attas.	“You speak a lot.”

The class of adverbs is heterogenous. A broad range of adverbs have a nominal origin (◦ΑΙΙΙ. / affla “over, upstairs”, ◦ΑΛ◦Α◦ / ammas “centre”, ◦Τ◦ΑΧ◦ / tasga “side”, ΣΛΞ◦ / idis “side”); others result from the combination of nouns or adverbs with prepositions (◦Π◦ΑΛ◦Σ / s wadday “down, downstairs”, ΥΟ ΧΛ◦+ / yr zdat “to the front, in the future”).

Adverbs serve a variety of semantic values such as place, time, quality and manner.

#### 1. Adverbs of place

The paradigm of adverbs of place is set out as follows:

- Λ◦, Λ◦Φ◦, ΥΣ / da, daha, yi “here”

◦Π◦Ω◦+ Λ◦ / Λ◦Φ◦ ! // awrat da / daha !	“Come here!”
ΠΙΞ◦ΛΞΦΣΙ ! / qqim dihin !	“Stay there!”
ΠΣ ΛΣΙ? / wi dinn ?	“Who is there?”
ΠΣ ΛΣΙΣ? / wi dinni ?	“Who is there (the place in question)?”
ΛΣΙΙ Η◦Ο◦ / dinn yrs	“There, at his house”
ΛΛ◦ Θ◦ ΥΣΙΙ. / ddu s yinn.	“Go there!”

The adverb Λ◦ / Λ◦Φ◦ // da / daha can be followed by the remoteness particle II / nn, bringing about the forms ΛΣΙΙ / ΛΣΦΣΙ // dinn / dihin “there”, or by the absence particle ΙΙΣ / nni (ΛΣΙΙΣ / dinni “there (the place in question)”).

Conversely, the adverb ΥΣ / yi may be followed by all orientation particles. It can be followed by the proximity particle Λ / d (ΥΣΛ / yid “by here”), the remoteness particle Ή / nn (ΥΣΗ / yinn “there”) as well as by the absence particle ΉΗΣ / lli (ΥΣΗΗΣ / yilli “the place in question”).

- ΛΗΞΕΙΟ / dffir, E.Q.E / ḍarāt, ΤΣΚΡΜΙΝ / tikrmin “behind”

- ΣΛΟ. / iwra “here”

„Ո՞՛ Ո՞՛ ! / awra awra “Come here!”

- \*λάτ / zdat “in front of”

׃خ׃Ot ү.О ځل. / ugurt yar zdat. “Go ahead.”

- ○○。 / ssa, ○○ጀ。 / ssya, ○ ՚ጀ / s yi, ○○ጀጀ。 / ssanita “by here, from here”

XCE ΘΘ. Կ. +O. XE ... / xmi ssa ya trahm ...	“when you depart from here”
XOEI Θ ԿΣ. / zrin s yi.	“They passed by here.”
KK. OI ΘΟΣ. / kkan ssya.	“They passed by here.”

The adverb စုစု။ / ssya can be followed by the remoteness particle လဲ / nn, bringing about the forms စုစုလဲ / စုစု၏ - ssyn / ssin “by there”.

ՀՇԱԽ. ՀՀՀ Ա + Օ. ՕՀ. + ԾԾԷԼ. / iskka iyi d tabrat ssin.	"He sent me a letter (from there)"
ՀՇԱԽ. ԾԾԷԼ. / ikka ssin.	"He passed by there."

- ΛΛ。Σ / ddaw, Θ Σ。ΛΛ。Σ / s wadday, Σ\*ΛΛ。Ο / izddar “down, below”

ԿՕ ԱԼՈՒ / yr ddaw	“downwards”
ՓԱՍ ԾԱԼՈՒՏ / hwa s wadday !	“Go downwards!”
✳Ք ✳ԱԼՈՒ ! / zr izddar !	“Look downwards!”

- ΘQQ. / *brra* “outside”

ଖଖୁ ଥିଲୁ ! / ffy brra !                    “Go out!”

- .X"ΙΘ / ag<sup>w</sup>ns, ΙοΙ / jaj, .ΕΕΘ / ammas “inside”

<p>QQ.ʌt, :o ++ :Hɛy ɯ. I.o.I ɯ. θQQQ. / ɪraht, ur ttufiy la jaj la brra.</p>	<p>“I can’t find tranquility neither at home nor outside.”</p>
<p>ɛ*ɛQ X ɯ.ɛɛ.ɔ ! / izır g wammas !</p>	<p>“Search inside!”</p>

- **lēčol / nican** “straightforward, straight ahead, right”

ԱԱՅ ԼԵՇՈՒ / ddu nican.	“Go straight ahead.”
ԿՈՐ ԽԱՀ ԼԵՇՈՒ / yark lhq nican.	“You are right.”

When the question has to do with place or location, we use the interrogative adverb Ήπιξ / mani “where”.

ମୋତି କିମ୍ବାରେ ? / mani iqqim ?	“Where is he sitting?”
ମୋତି ତମ୍ଭେଳା ? / mani tllid ?	“Where are you?”
ମୋତି ମହିଳାଙ୍କିରିନ୍ଦ୍ରି ? / mani llant thnjirin ?	“Wher are the girls?”

When the question bears on a prepositional phrase that has the function of an adverb of time, the interrogative **எல்லை** / mani can be followed by a preposition (**போ** / yr, **ஆக** / zi, **சு** / s, **க** (**ப**) / g (y)),.

ቤ.፤ የዕስ እለለ ወ / mani yr idda ?	“Where did he go?”
ቤ.፤ የዕስ እለለ ወ / mani s idda ?	“Where did he go?”
ቤ.፤ ይህን ደንብ ይመለሳል / mani g illa ubrid ?	“Where is the way?”
ቤ.፤ የዕስ አድራሻ ይመለሳል / mani zg d yusa?	“Where did he come from?”

## 2. Time adverbs

Time adverbs are, in the most majority, of nominal origin.

- .○○ 。(𠂇 .○○ ○) / ass a (y ass a) “today”

፳፻UE ዕ.፩፩ ዕ. / yiwđ ass a.	"He has arrived today."
፳፻Q\xE4Y ዕ.፩፩ ዕ. / zriy t ass a.	"I have seen him today."

The adverb **.ΘΘ** / ass a may well be combined with the deictics of proximity (**Λ** / d), remoteness (**||** / nn) or reference (**ℳℳΣ** / lli), bringing about the following forms: **.ΘΘ Λ** / ass ad “today”, **.ΘΘ ||** / ass nn “that day”, **.ΘΘ ℳℳΣ** (**Ψ.ΘΘ ℳℳΣ**) / ass lli (yass lli) “the day in question”.

- **•✳KKo (ΘΘKKo)** / azkka (askka), **+ΣLCCo** / tiwcca “tomorrow”

<b>.Λ Λ I.Θ +ΣLCCo.</b> / ad d nas tiwcca.	“We shall come tomorrow.”
<b>.Λ :O +ΣΣ:ΛΛ:Κ .✳KKo !</b> / ad ur tmmuddum askka !	“Do not travel tomorrow.”

- **ΣΕΙΙ.Ε / iđnnat, ΣΕΧ.Λ / idgam** “yesterday”, **ΣΕℳℳΣ / idlli** “yesterday night”, **.ΘΘΙΙ.Ε / assnnaṭ** “yesterday during the day”

<b>ΣXX. :O.Ο ΣΕΙΙ.Ε /</b> igga urar iđnnat.	“He celebrated his marriage yesterday.”
<b>I✳Q. XΕ.Κ .ΘΘΙΙ.Ε /</b> nzra gmak assnnaṭ.	“We saw your brother yesterday.”

- **.ΘΘΗ.Λ / assfann, I.ΗΣΕΧ.Λ / nafidgam, .ΘΘℳℳΛ / asslid, ΗΟΣΕΙΙ.Ε / friđnnat, .ΘΙΣΧ | Ι.ΘΘΙΙ.Ε / asnig n wassnnaṭ** “the day before yesterday”

**ΘΨΞΨ +I .ΘΘΗ.Λ.** / syiγ tn assfann.      “I bought them the day before yesterday.”

- **I.Η.✳KKo / nafuzkka, I.Η.✳I / nafażn, ΛΗΟ +ΣLCCo / dfr tiwcca, Η.ΟLΣCCo / farwicca, .ΘΙΣΧ | Ι.✳KKo / asnig n wazkka** “after tomorrow”

<b>ΖΖΗ.+ .Ο I.Η.✳KKo.</b> / qqlat ar nafuzkka.	“Wait till the day after tomorrow.”
<b>.Λ Ο.ΛΙ Η.ΟLΣCCo.</b> / ad rahn farwicca.	“They will leave the day after tomorrow.”

- **IΕ.Ε.Ι.ο / ndađana, II.Ε.Ι.τ / nnađant, .✳XXΨ.+. / azzyat, ΘXX.ΘΙΙ.Ε / asggʷasnnaṭ** “last year”

<b>IΕ.Ε.Ι.ο, :O ΣΣ:ΛΛΞΨ. /</b> ndađana, ur mmuddiy.	“I did not travel last year.”
<b>ΣΣΛΨ .✳XXΨ.+. /</b> yiwl azzyat.	“He got married last year.”

- ዘመንና / adininn, ቀመንና / farwazyat “two years ago”

„ΕΣΙΣΗ, ούτε είσεις!». Q. /  
adinninn, ur iwit unzar.

"It has not rained for the last two years."

- ΣΕΩΗ / imal, ΣΙΧΟΣ / mnεac “next year”

„Λ *QI „O„U  IIΘI ΣC„M. / ad zrn arawn nnsn imal.	“They will see their children next year.”
ΕΕΗ + Ψ „ΟR „M EΙH „C! / tſt t yark al mnæac!	“Keep it till next year.”

- +ΣΧΣΟ。 / +ΣΙΧΣΟ。 - **tigira** / **tingira** “after”

„O †ΞΧΞΟ. †ΛΛ:Ľ. / ar tigira  
tddum.

"You will go after."

- \*ΖΙΚ / zik, ΖΩΦΩ / wahwa “early, formerly, long ago”

FFYN ZIK. / ffyn zik.

“They left early.”

- ✕ ՏԵՂ / g yid, ԿՈ ՒԵՂԵՏ / yr tmddit “at night”

ԱՆՈՒՄԱՆ ԿՈ ԴԵԼԱՏ. / ddan inbgiwn yr tmddit.	“The guests went at night.”
ՀԱՅԻ ՑԱՌ. / iwwt unzař g yid.	“It rained at night.”

- ΘΛΛό / bdda “always, all the time”

ወ. ተለለ. እዚዕ዗. / la bdda idssa. “He always smiles.”

- ԿՅԱԼ / yilad, ԱԿՏ / dyi, Ո.Ծ. / wasa, ԱԿՏՔ / dyikk, ԽՒՒ / lxtu, ՕՇ. / ruxa, ԷԱՇՎ / ilquq “now”

When the question bears on a temporal prepositional phrase, the interrogative adverbs that are used are set out as follows:

- **எலெகு / manag<sup>w</sup>, எம்மி / mlmi, எல் திசுசு / man tizi “when”**

କୋଣାର୍କ ପାହାନ୍ତିରେ ? / manag <sup>w</sup> rad ddunt ?	“When will they go?”
କୁମାରୀରେ ଆମେ ଯାଏନ୍ତିରେ ? / mlmi ya d tas ?	“When will she come ??”
କୁମାରୀରେ ଥିଲାମୁ ? / milmi ay ffyn ?	“When did they go out?”

### **3. Adverbs of quantity**

- ΛΟ፡Θ / drus, ΣΕΚΚ / imikk, ΣΕΖΖ / imiqq, ΚΛ.Σ† / cwayt, ΚΛΞ / cwi “a little”

ዶቃዥዥለ ለዕስ፡ / yuzzl drus.	“He did not run much.”
ሕኩ ፌጋዥ የዕስ ጥሩኝቸዋል ! / fk iyi yas imiqq.	“Give me just a little!”
የዕስ ተከታታል እንደሆነ / yiwca as cwayt.	“He gave him / her a little.”

- **କିଗାନ** / kigan, **ଅଟ୍ଟାଶ**, **ବହରା**, **ବସ୍ତାଫ** / bzzaf “a lot, many”

- **॰କ୍ଷର୍ମ** / akk<sup>w</sup>, କ୍ଷର୍ମାଖ (କ୍ଷର୍ମାଖ) / qqaḥ (qqaε), **କୁଳୁ** / kullo, **ମର୍ରା** / marṛā  
“all, everything”

*QEΨ + I. RKR. / zriy tn akk <sup>w</sup> .	"I saw all of them."
ΣΘΘΞ Ζ.Λ.ΣΙΙ. Σ.Η.ο. / ibbi qah aynna yufa.	"He tore all what he found."
Σ.QQ. CCΣI, Σ.QQ. ΘΠΣI. / marra ccin, marra swin.	"They ate and drank everything."

If used in a negative sentence, ئەككى / akk<sup>w</sup> means “nothing, not at all, not even” and ئەلەك / qqah “not ... at all”.

॰RK“ :O ڦ:ڦSڻ ڦXH ॥O. / akkʷ ur yusiy ixf nns.	“He does not even provide for his own needs.”
:O ڦK“ ڦOڦS ڦ. / ur akkʷ issin tamaziyt.	“He does not know Amazigh at all.”
ڦ. ڦ :O ڦE ڦO. / qqah ur ڦisý.	“I did not sleep at all.”
:O ڦZ ڦZ ڦ. / ڦ. ڦ. ڦ. / ur iqqim la d ittdhu qqah.	“He no longer comes.”

Asking about quantity is accommodated through the following morphemes:  
 ڦCt. / mcta, ڦICR / mnck, ڦCk. ڦ / mchäl.

ڦCt. ڦ. ڦ ڦ. ڦ. ? / mcta ad s llan ?	“How many are they?”
ڦICR ڦ. ڦ + ڦQ ڦ. ? / mnck ad tzrid ?	“How many did you see?”
ڦCk. ڦ. ڦ + ڦK ڦ. ڦ X ڦ. ڦ. ? / mchäl ay tkkid g midlt ?	“How long did you stay in Midelt?”

#### 4. Adverbs of manner

The adverbs of manner do not have a stable form. In general terms, the idea of *manner* is expressed via a whole range of prepositional phrases (preposition + noun). Most of these prepositional phrases are introduced by the preposition ڦ / s which specifies the meaning of the verb that it modifies. As way of illustration, we set out the following adverbial constructions:

ڦ + ڦX ڦ. , ڦ + ڦH ڦ. ڦ / s tazzla, s tfssi	“quickly”
ڦ + ڦL ڦ. / s ttawil	“slowly”
ڦ ڦX ڦ. / s lhil	“smoothly”
ڦ ڦH ڦ. , ڦ : ڦH ڦ. / s wafud, s uyir	“by force”
ڦ ڦH ڦ. , ڦ ڦ. ڦ / s wul, s nniyt	“sincerely”
ڦ ڦX ڦ. / s lhss	“quietly”
ڦ + ڦA ڦ. , ڦ ڦ. ڦ / s tidt, s ssah	“really”
ڦ ڦX ڦ. / s lxaṭr	“willingly”
ڦ ڦX ڦ. / s bzzez	“by force”

A category of adverbs of manner is generally made up of invariable words or fixed forms:

မြှေးဆုံး, မြှေးစွဲ / mlih, mzyan	“good”
မြှေးစွဲပါ / fisae	“quickly”
ဓာတ်ချုပ်, ဓာတ်ချုပ်သ / bzziz, bssif	“compulsorily”
မြှေးစွဲ၊ ဓာတ်ချုပ် / fabur, batl	“for free”
နီးယံး, နီးယံးသ / enwa, nemda	“intentionally, willingly”
လာမှု, လာမှုသ // day, altu	“anew, another time”

Repetition may also be employed to express manner.

အိမ်အိမ်စွဲ / imikk s imikk	“slowly”
ကရာ စွဲ ကရာ စွဲ / kra စွဲ kra စွဲ / ca စွဲ ca စွဲ	“little by little”
ကြေးနဲ့ ကြေးနဲ့ / cway စွဲ ကြေးနဲ့ ကြေးနဲ့ / cway cwi စွဲ cwi စွဲ	“little by little”
ဘဟရာ ဘဟရာ / bahra bahra	“intensely”

Interrogation about manner obtains by using the following interrogative morphemes: မြေးဇူး / manik, မြေးကုက္ကာ / makka, မြေးမြေး (မြေးမြေးမြေး) / mamnk (mammk), မြေးမြေးက / mamc, မြေးမြေးမြေး / mimc, မြေးဘုံ / mux “how”.

မြေးဇူး၊ မြေးဇူးအဲ + စွဲသုတေသနမြေးမြေး ? / manik ad tssnwam tagwlla ?	“How do you prepare the porridge?”
မြေးကုက္ကာ၊ မြေးကုက္ကာအဲ ? / makka ay tgit ?	“How did you do?”
မြေးမြေးမြေးအဲ ? // mamc igga ?	“How did he do?”
မြေးဘုံ၊ မြေးဘုံအဲ ? / mux tggim ?	“How are you (plr.)?”

The interrogative adverbs of manner မြေးဇူး / manik and မြေးကုက္ကာ / makka are followed by the morphemes အဲ / ad and အဲ / ay.

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **Simple sentence**

## 1. Affirmative sentence

The affirmative sentence is the simplest sentence in Amazigh grammar. The other forms, i.e. the negative, interrogative and exclamative sentences, are but modified forms of the simple sentence. Depending on the presence or absence of verbal predicates, a simple sentence is either verbal or non-verbal.

### 1.1. Verbal sentence

### *a. Constituants*

Besides the main elements that are mandatory for making up a minimal or basic verbal sentence (i.e. the verbal stem and the person markers (*cf.* 5.1)), the basic verbal sentence may well be expanded by adding other constituents that have different syntactic functions. Paramount among these constituents, there are:

- *Lexical subject:*

ՀԱՒ ՅԱՀԻ. / iwt udfl.	“It snowed.”
ՀԵԽԿԱ ՀԸՆԸ. / iffy hmmu	“Hemmou went out.”

- *Direct object:*

ተሸዋ ተስልማዣ ዘረዘሩኝ. / “The baby drank milk.”  
tswa tslmya akffay.

- *Indirect object:*

ΣΙΓΩΝ ΛΗΞΟΣ ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ  
iwca adlis i gmas.  
“He gave the book to his brother.”

When these elements coexist in a single sentence, the canonical order is as follows:

## V + S + DO + IO + PP

<b>ΣΘΕ◦ :ΘΙΛ◦Λ ΣΛΗΞΘΙ ΧΧ ΣΙΗΛ◦ΛΙ Χ +ΣΙΕΗ◦ /</b> ibda uslmad idlism xf inlmadm g tinml. “The teacher distributed the books to the pupils at school.”
<b>◦Λ ΣΘΨ ΛΕΕ◦ +ΣΧΕΕΣ Σ ΣΣΗΗΣΘ ΣΕ◦ /</b> ad isy hemmu tigmimi i yillis imal. “Hemmou will buy a house to his daughter next year.”

### (i) Subject

The subject is placed either before or after the verb. When it is placed after the verb, it usually appears in the construct state (CS), a state that modifies the initial vowel of masculine nouns, as well as the vowel that appears after the first + / t of the discontinuous circumfix + ... (t) / t ... (t) in feminine nouns (*cf.* 3.1.3.b).

The function of the CS marker is of prime importance because it distinguishes the subject from the object (complement), the latter always holds in the free state (FS), as evinced in the following examples:

<b>ΣCC◦ :ΘΙΛ◦ / icca uslm.</b>	“ <b>The fish has eaten.</b> ”
<b>ΣCC◦ .ΘΙΛ◦ / icca aslm.</b>	“ <b>He ate the fish (one fish).</b> ”

When the subject is at the top of the sentence, it surfaces in the free state form.

<b>.ΗΟ◦Χ ΣΟΛΗ◦ / afrux irwl.</b>	“ <b>The boy fled.</b> ”
<b>.ΘΟΣΛ Σ◦ΧΧ◦Χ / abrid yaggug.</b>	“ <b>The way is long.</b> ”

Generally speaking, the function of a subject can be assumed by a variety of elements, such as:

- *A noun (kinship or ordinary noun):*

<b>Σ◦ΘΣ Λ :Ι◦ΛΛ◦ / yusi d unmaddu.</b>	“ <b>The traveller came back.</b> ”
<b>.Ι◦ΛΛ◦ Σ◦ΘΣ Λ / anmaddu yusi d.</b>	“ <b>The traveller came back.</b> ”
<b>ΣΗΞΨ :ΟΘ◦ / iffy urba.</b>	“ <b>The boy went out</b> ”
<b>:Ε◦ ΣΗΞΨ / uma iffy.</b>	“ <b>My brother went out.</b> ”

- *A quality noun:*

<b>ΣΘΘΣΛΗ◦ :ΕΖΖΟ◦ / issiwl umqqran.</b>	“ <b>The old man spoke.</b> ”
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• <b>أَرْجَزَهُ إِنْسَانٌ.</b> / amqqran issiwl.	“The old man spoke.”
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- *A free pronoun:*

يُوْمَهُ اتْهُ. / irah ntta.	“He went.”
اتْهُ يُوْمَهُ. / ntta irah.	“(He), he went.”

- *A demonstrative pronoun:*

يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ. / yusi d wann.	“He came, that one.”
أَنْهُ يُوْمَهُ. / wann yusi d.	“That one came.”

- *An indefinite pronoun:*

يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ كُوْنَهُ أَنْهُ. / idda d ca n yidj.	“Someone came.”
كُوْنَهُ أَنْهُ يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ. / ca n yidj idda d.	“Someone came.”

- *A possessive pronoun:*

يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ كُونْهُ أَنْهُ. / imqqur winu.	“Mine is big.”
كُونْهُ أَنْهُ يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ. / winu imqqur.	“Mine is big.”

- *A numeral:*

يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ كُونْهُ أَنْهُ. / ffynt snat.	“Two went out.”
كُونْهُ أَنْهُ يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ. / snat ffynt.	“Two went out.”

### (ii) Topic indicator

Some elements, usually postposed to the verb, are subject to topicalization. Put in another way, these elements are subject to movement to the head of the sentence, hence the name “topic indicator”. Their position at the head of the sentence is concomitant with a change in their primary function. Topicalized elements are always in the free state. Irrespective of their basic function (subject, direct object or indirect object), they are endorsed by affixal personal pronouns with which they agree in gender and number. In writing, a topic indicator is separated by a comma from the verb. Topicalization is one among a varied set of focalization processes in Amazigh.

In general terms, the function of a topic indicator can be carried out by the following categories:

- *A noun:*

أَرْجَزَهُ إِنْسَانٌ، يُوْمَهُ أَنْهُ. / argaz, iffy.	“The man, he went out.”
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• ՕԽ. Տ, ՄՂԵԿ Ւ. / argaz, zriy t.	“The man, I saw him.”
• ՕԽ. Տ, ՀՂԵԿ Ո. Ց Ա. ՄԼ. Ղ. / argaz, fkiy as aznnař.	“The man, I have given him the Bourous.”

- A quality noun:

• ԿՎԿ. Խ, ՄՂԵԿ Ւ. / ayzzaf, zriy t.	“The tall man, I saw him.”
• ԸՋՋՕ. Լ, ԿՈԵԿ Ո. Ց. / amqqran, yriy as.	“The big man, I called him.”
• ԸՄԿՏ. Օ, ՀԱՀ. Խ Ա. Ա. Ը. / amzzyan, idda ag wumas.	“The young boy, He went with his brother.”

- A numeral:

• ԾԷ. Ո. Լ, ԱՀ. Օ. Ա. / sin ann, ddan d.	“Those two, they have come (here).”
• ԾԷ. Ո. Լ, ՄՂԵԿ Ւ. Լ. / sin ann, zriy tn.	“Those two, I have seen them.”
• ԾԷ. Ո. Լ, ՀՂԵԿ Ո. Ց Ա. ՄԼ. Ը. / sin ann, fkiy asn adlis.	“Those two, I have given them the book.”

- An independent pronoun:

• ԻՒ. ՀՕ. Խ. / ntta, irah.	“(He), he went.”
• ԻՒ. ՄՂԵԿ Ւ. / ntta, zriy t.	“(He), I saw him.”
• ԻՒ. ՀԿԵԿ Ո. Ց Ի. Ա. Ը. / ntta, uciy as tineacin.	“(He), I have given him the money.”
• ԻՒ. ՀԱՀ. Խ Ա. Ա. Ը. / ntta, idda ag babas.	“(He), he went with his father.”

- A demonstrative pronoun:

• Ա. ՀՕ. Խ. / wann, irah.	“(That one), he went.”
• Ա. Ը. Ը. Ա. Թ. Օ. Ը. Ա. / winn, mliy as abrid.	“(That one), I showed him the way.”
• Ա. Ը. Ը. Ա. Թ. Օ. Ը. Ա. / winin, uciy asn tammemt.	“(Those ones), I have given them honey.”

<b>†.l, †ΛΛ. oX †CΛΛ. K"lt IIΘ /</b> tan, tdda ag tmddak <sup>w</sup> lt nns.	“(This one), she went with her friend.
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- *A possessive pronoun:*

<b>ԱՅԻօ, ԷՀՄՄԷ. /</b> winu, imzzi.	“Mine is small.”
<b>ԱՅԻԹԻ, ՄՂԷԿ †. /</b> winsn, զրիյ t.	“Theirs, I have seen it.”
<b>ԱՅԻԹԻ, ԾԾԽՄՎ. Ը. /</b> winsn, ssiwly as.	“Theirs, I have talked to him.”

### (iii) Direct object

The direct object comes immediately after the verb in a minimal sentence (i.e. a sentence without a lexical subject), or after the lexical subject in an expanded sentence. The direct object is always in the free state.

<b>ՏԾԿ. ՑԻՄԸ.Ա. ԱԽՏԸ. /</b> isya unlmad adlis.	“The boy has bought a book.”
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The direct object can be replaced by an affixal pronoun with the same function. When the direct object is replaced by a pronoun, the pronoun appears immediately after the verb and before the lexical subject (if there is one) provided that no pronoun-attracting preverbal element holds in the sentence, i.e. elements, like (ՑՕ / ur, Ա / ad, ՏԾ / is ...), which require the pronoun to move to a position before the verb:

<b>Տ.Կ + ՑԾԸ.Է. /</b> yay t uşmmid.	“He is cold.”
<b>ՑՕ + Տ.Կ ՑԾԸ.Է. /</b> ur t yay uşmmid.	“He is not cold.”

In general terms, the direct object function can be assumed by:

- *A noun:*

<b>ՏԾԿ. Ւ.Ա.ՕՏ. /</b> isya taknarit.	“He bought prickly pears.”
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- *A numeral:*

<b>ՏԵԵՀ ԿՔ.Է (1) ՏԾՄԸ.Լ. /</b> it̪f kraq (n) islman.	“He caught three fish.”
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- *A noun phrase:*

Σ:⌚ .Θ ΣΘΜΕ.Ι Ι :ΨΧΟ. / “He gave him river fish.”  
iwca as islman n uyzr.

• *A quality noun:*

Σ\*Q. .Χ.†.Ο. / “He saw the big one.”  
izra axatar.

• *An affixal pronoun:*

ΣΘΘΞ †. / ibbi t. “He cut it.”

• *A demonstrative pronoun:*

ΣΗΗ. Λ. / iela wa. “He saw this one.”

• *An indefinite pronoun:*

Σ\*Q. Κ. | ΣΣΙΙ. / “He saw someone.”  
izra ca n yjj.

• *A possessive pronoun or phrase:*

ΣΟ. ΛΣΙ. / ira winu. “He wants mine.”

(iv) *Indirect object*

The indirect object is always introduced by the dative preposition Σ / i “to”; it also surfaces in the construct state owing to the influence exercised by the preposition.

ΣΗΚ. :ΘΜΕ.Λ ΣΛΗΞΘΙ Σ ΣΙΗΕ.ΛΙ. /  
ifka uslmad idlisp i inlmadn.  
“The teacher gave the books to pupils.”

The indirect object can be substituted by an affixal personal pronoun. The latter intervenes between the verb and the lexical subject, and the whole is followed by the direct object.

ΣΘΕ. .ΘΙ :ΘΜΕ.Λ ΣΛΗΞΘΙ. /  
ibda asn uslmad idlisp.  
“The teacher distributed the books to them.”

When the direct and indirect pronominal objects coexist in the same sentence, it is the second the comes before the first:

ՀԹԵ. :ՉՈՎ.Λ ՀԱԽՑՈՒ Տ ՀԻՄԿ.ԱԼ. / ibda uslmad idlisn i inlmadn.	“The teacher distributed the books to the students.”
ՀԹԵ. ԾՈՒ Ւ :ՉՈՎ.Ա. / ibda asn tn uslmad.	“The teacher distributed them (the books) to them.”

### b. Agreement

There are three types of agreement:

- Agreement between the subject and the verb;
- Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb;
- Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns.

#### (i) Agreement between the subject and the verb

The verb agrees in gender, number and person with the lexical subject irrespective of its position relative to the verb, preposed or postposed.

ՏՀԻԿ ՅՈԹ. / iffy urba.	“The boy went out.”
ՅՈԹ. ՏՀԻԿ. / arba iffy.	“The boy, he went out.”
ՏՀԻԿ ՏՈԹ. + / tffy trbat.	“The girl went out.”
ՏՈԹ. + ՏՀԻԿ. / tarbat tffy.	“The girl, she went out”
ՀԻԿՎԻ ՏԱԼԻՍՈՒ. / ffyn ihnjirn.	“The boys went out.”
ՏԱԼԻՍՈՒ ՀԻԿՎԻ. // ihnjirn ffyn.	“The boys, they went out.”
ՀԻԿՎԻ + ՑԵՈԾ. + Տ. / ffynt tcirratin.	“The girls went out.”
ՏԱԼԻՍՈՒ ՀԻԿՎԻ. / tihnjirin ffynt.	“The girls, they went out.”

When the subject is a noun phrase, two scenarios are observed depending on whether the subject is postposed or preposed to the verb. If the subject is postposed to the verb, agreement in gender and number with the first element of the noun phrase is observed, as illustrated in the following examples:

ՅՈ.Հ ՅՈԹ. Ա + ՏՈԹ. + / irah urba d trbat.	“The boy and the girl went.”
ՏՈ.Հ + ՏՈԹ. + Ա ՅՈԹ. / trah trbat d urba.”	“The girl and the boy went.”
ՅՈ.ՀԻ ՅՈԹ. Ա + ՏՈԹ. + Տ. / rahn irban d trbatin.	“The boys and the girls went.”
ՅՈ.ՀԻ + ՏՈԹ. + Տ. Ա ՅՈԹ. / rahnt trbatin d irban.	“The girls and the boys went.”

If the noun phrase is preposed to the verb, and if the nouns that make up the noun phrase are of different gender, the verb takes the masculine plural form:

•OX. *Λ +CEE:E+ ΛΛ. / argaz d tm̄tuqt ddan.	“The man and the woman went.”
+CEE:E+ Λ SΣUΣΘ ΛΛ. / tam̄tuqt d yiwi ddan.	“The woman and her son went.”

(ii) *Agreement between the topic indicator and the verb*

Agreement holds between the topic indicator and the verb if the moved element is the subject of the verb:

•ΛΟΕ:G, ΣΟ.Λ. / ah̄rmuc, irah̄.	“The boy, he went.”
+ΛΟΕ:G+, ΤΟ.Λ. / tahr̄muct, trah̄.	“The girl, she went.”
ΣΛΟΕ:CI, Ο.Λ. / īhr̄mucn, rah̄n.	“The boys, they went.”
+ΣΛΟΕ:CI+, Ο.Λ+T. / tīhr̄mucin, rah̄nt.	“The girls, they went.”

(iii) *Agreement between the topic indicator and the endorsing affixal pronouns*

When the topic indicator is a complement, it is endorsed by a direct object pronoun that has the same morphological features (the same gender, number and person of the topic indicator).

- *Agreement between the topic indicator and the direct object affixal pronouns*

•ΣΣΣΘ, :ΙΙΣΨ +. / ayyis, unniy t.	“The horse, I saw it.”
+ΗΟ:X+, *QΣΨ ++. / tafruxt, z̄riy tt.	“The girl, I saw her.”
ΣΨΥC+, *QΣΨ ++. / ilyman, z̄riy tn.	“The camels, I saw them.”
+ΣΛΑΣ*ΣΙ, *QΣΨ ++. / timdyazin, z̄riy tnt.	“The singers, I saw them.”

- *Agreement between the topic indicator and the indirect object affixal pronouns*

+ΟΘ.+, :CΣΨ .Θ ΣΙΙΣΧI. / tarbat, uciy as ijgijn.	“The girl, I have offered her flowers.”
ΣCΙ.ΣI, ΚΨΥΨ .ΘΙ .ΘΟΞΛ. / imnayn, mliy asn abrid.	“The knights, I have shown them the way.”
ΣΘ+Σ.+, :CΣΨ .ΘΙ+ .Θ:Θ ΙΙΘI. / istma, uciy asnt amur nnsnt.	“My sisters, I have given them their share.”

- Agreement between the topic indicator and the noun complement affixal pronouns

ይ。ጥ፤, ችዕሮች ተ。ለለ。ዕት ዘዴ. / masin, ssny taddart nns.	“Massin, I know his house.”
ተ。ዕዥ。ተ。, ችዕሮች ዓዕተር。ዕ. / tarbat a, ssny ultmas.	“This girl, I know her sister.”
ኩፎኬ ዓለ, ችዕሮች ክፎዕረ ዘዴ. / imnayn ad, ssny iyrm nnsn.	“These knights, I know their village.”
ተፎዕዥ。ተኩ፤ ዘዴ, ችዕሮች ዓ。ዕ。ተ。ዕት. / tirbatin nna, ssny babatsnt.	“Those girls, I know their father.”

### c. Word order in the verbal sentence

The order of the constituents of the verbal sentence depends on the nature of the elements from which it is made. The elements can either be nouns or affixal personal pronouns; each scenario recognises a specific order. In general terms, the canonical order of a verbal sentence is as follows:

**V + S + DO + IO + Comp**

እዕዥ የሚመስ ተ。ዕዥ。ተ。ኩ፤ ዘዴ ዓዕተር ዓ。ዕ。ኩ፤ ዘዴ. /  
isskk mimun tabrat i memmis ag umddakkwl nns.  
“Mimoun sent the letter to his son with his friend.”

If one of the complements is an affixal personal pronoun, and if the sentence does not contain any preverbal element (ዓዕ / ur, ዓለ / ad, ልዕ / da, ...), the order is as follows:

**V + DO Pron + S + IO + Comp**

እዕዥ የሚመስ ተ。ኩ፤ ዘዴ ዓዕተር ዓ。ዕ。ኩ፤ ዘዴ. /  
isskk itt mimun i memmis ag umddakkwl nns.  
“Mimoun sent it to his son with his friend.”

**V + IO Pron + S + DO + Comp**

እዕዥ ዓ。ዕ。ኩ፤ ዘዴ ዓዕተር ዓ。ዕ。ኩ፤ ዘዴ. /  
isskk as tt mimun ag umddakkwl nns.  
“Mimoun sent the letter to him with his friend.”

### **V + IO Pron + DO Pron + S + Comp**

ΣΘΟΥΚΚ .Θ ++ ΣΣΕΙ .Χ :ΣΛΛ.ΚΚ“Ι ΙΙΘ.

isskk as tt mimun ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.

“Mimoun sent it to him with his friend.”

If a sentence has one of the particles of attraction (ΘΟ / ur, Λ / ad, ΣΘ / is, ...), the customary order of constituents in the sentence changes, and the pronouns appear in a preverbal position. Hence, we obtain the following orders:

#### **Part. + DO pron. + V + S + IO + Comp**

ΘΟ ++ ΣΘΟΥΚΚ ΣΣΕΙ Σ ΣΕΞΕΣΘ .Χ :ΣΛΛ.ΚΚ“Ι ΙΙΘ.

ur tt isskk mimun i memmis ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.

“Mimoun did not send it to his son with his friend.”

#### **Part. + IO pron. + V + S + DO + Comp**

ΘΟ .Θ ΣΘΟΣΚΚ ΣΣΕΙ +ΘΟ. + .Χ :ΣΛΛ.ΚΚ“Ι ΙΙΘ.

ur as issikk mimun tabrat ag umddakk<sup>wl</sup> nns.

“Mimoun did not send the letter to him with his friend.”

#### **Part. + IO pron. + DO pron. + V + S + Comp**

ΘΟ .Θ ++ ΣΘΟΣΚΚ ΣΣΕΙ .Χ :ΣΛΛ.ΚΚ“Ι ΙΙΘ.

ur as tt issikk mimun ag umddukl nns.

“Mimoun did not send it to him with his friend.”

Besides the canonical order *verb – subject – complement*, a composite of other orders are observed and are generally used to express emphasis. From the foregoing, it can be concluded that all constituents, to the exception of verbs, are able to fill the function of a topic indicator and be placed at the beginning of a sentence (*cf. 8.1.1.a*).

## **1.2. Non-verbal sentence**

A non-verbal sentence is dubbed so because it does not have a verb. Of the two main constituents that make up a non-verbal sentence, the predicate is obligatory whereas the subject is optional. Amazigh recognises a composite of various non-verbal sentences depending on the nature of the predicate and on the presence / absence of predication morphemes.

*a. Predicates introduced by the predication particle Λ/d*

The predication particle Λ / d “it is” is invariable, and the nominal predicate (or its equivalents, i.e. a quality noun, an independent pronoun, a numeral, etc.) that it introduces always takes the free state form:

Ա ԸՆՔԵԾ. / d amh̥d̥ar.	“It is a student.”
Ա ՏՈՒԿՈՒ. / d tamyart.	“It is a woman.”
Ա ԶՐՅԱԿՈՒ. / d azggʷay.	“It is red.”
Ա ՑԻՒՑՈՒ. / d ultmas.	“It is his sister.”
Ա ԼԻՒՉՈՒ. / d nttat.	“It is her.”
Ա ՏՈՒ. / d ta	“It is this one (fem.).”
Ա ՎԱԾՈՒ. / d wad.	“It is this one (masc.).”
Ա ՎԱԾԻԾՈՒ. / d winu.	“It is mine.”

Preceded by the particle Λ / d, the nominal sentence expresses many semantic values, such as existence, introduction, identification and emphasis.

The subject of a nominal sentence is placed at the head of the sentence:

ՀԵԸՆՈՒՄ Ա ՅԱԿԵՔ. / հմմու դ ամհձար.	“Hemmou is a student.”
ԱՅԱՀԱՅՈՒՄ Ա ՅԱԿԵՔ. / դաճաս դ ամյար.	“His elder brother is the chief.”
ԻՇԱԿՈՒՄ Ա ՏԱՄՅԱՅՆ. / էիշա դ տամզզանտ.	“Aicha is the youngest.”

Non-verbal phrases introduced by  $\Lambda$  / d may contain the presenter morpheme  $\mathbb{Z}_o$  / qa "here is"; this morpheme is realized also as  $\Phi_o\mathbb{Z}_o$  / haqa:

*b. Predicates introduced by  $\Phi_0$  / ha or  $\Phi_0\Xi_0$  / haqa*

The morpheme  $\Phi_0$  / ha “here is” and its variant  $\Phi_0\Xi_0$  / haqa function in the same way as the predication particle  $\Lambda$  / d “it is”, in the sense that all of them introduce different types of predicates, such as nominals and their substitutes which all appear in the free state.

Φ.ο.¤¤¤Θ. / ha ayyis.	“Here is a horse.”
Φ.Ζ.ο.¤¤¤.Ϋ. / haqa azgg <sup>w</sup> ay.	“Here is the red one.”

Ø. ॥. / ha wa.	“Here is this one.”
Ø. ॥. / haqa nkkni.	“Here we are.”
Ø. KQ.ET (l) + Ø. + ॥. / ha kraqt (n) tbratin.	“Here are three letters”
Ø. ॥. / ha t.	“Here it is.”
Ø. ॥. / ha tn.	“Here they are.”

### c. Predicates without introducing morphemes

There are various types of predicates that are devoid of any introducing morphemes. Among these predicates, we may well mention:

- *The prepositional phrase*

A preposition along with its affixal pronoun may well fill the role of a predicate and make up a non-verbal sentence with the noun phrase that follows:

Υ:ΟΘ ΥΙ. ॥. / yurs lwacun.	“He / she has children.”
Λ.ΟΘ Σ. ॥. / dars iqaridn.	“He / she has money.”
Υ:ΟΣ ΣΙΙ   :ΧΙΙΣΟ. / yuri ijj n uhnjir.	“I have a boy.”
ΛΣΧΘ . ॥. / digs aman.	“There is water inside.”

The morpheme ॥. / qa “here is / there is”, which it is used in non-verbal structures with Λ / d, can also be used with prepositional predicates.

॥. ΛΣΙΙΣ Σ. + ΗΣΟ.Θ. /  
qa dinni ict n tfirast.  
“A pear tree is there.”

- *An adverb*

ΘQQ. ! / brra !	“Outside!”
Λ. / ΥΣ / Λ.Ø. ? // da / yi / daha ?	“Here?”
॥.Ø. / wasa.	“Now.”

- *A noun phrase specified or not by a complement*

:Θ.Ø.Λ / ussan ad	“these days”
Κ:Η ΣΙΙ Θ :Ξ.Ø. / kul ijj s umur nns.	“Everyone has his own share.”
Κ:Σ.Ø. Θ :Λ.Ø. / ku yan s udlis nns.	“Each one has his own book.”

- *A comparative noun phrase*

ଓ.ପୋଲ ନନ୍କ ଓଳ ପୁଲମ ନନ୍ଦେ / awal nnk am wawal nns.	“Your words are the same as his.”
ସେୟାଙ୍କ କିମ୍ବା ଅତ୍ରିଷ୍ଠେ / Ittu zun d eli.	“Itto is like Ali.”

- *An interrogative structure*

କେତେ ଲୋ ? / matta wa ?	“What is this ?”
କେହାକୁ ତୋ ? / mayar ta ?	“Why this one?”
କେଣ୍ଟ ଲୋ ? / mani wa ?	“Which one?”

## 2. Negative sentence

The negative sentence is either verbal or non-verbal. In both cases, it is characterised by the use of the morpheme of negation :O / ur “not”.

### 2.1. Verbal negation

Under verbal negation, we mean a verbal sentence made up of a verb and the morpheme of negation :O / ur “not”. The function of the morpheme :O / ur is to deny and negate the process expressed by the predicate of the sentence, i.e. the verb. :O / ur can either be used alone or accompanied with a second element of negation.

#### a. *The morpheme :O / ur*

:O / ur always holds in a preverbal position. It has a composite of variants, like : / u, which is a reduced form of :O / ur (or :M / ul), as well as Llo / wa and Llo.O / war.

In general terms, negation brings about some alterations on the perfective theme by introducing the vowel ξ / i at the end of the verb or before the final consonant (*cf. 5.1.3 c*).

:O ξତୁଲ୍ୟ ଲୋ. / ur iswi aman.	“He did not drink water.”
:O ξିଲ୍ୟ ଲୋ. / ur inni awal a.	“He did not say these words.”
:O ξର୍ଥୀକ କିଲି ଗିଲ୍ଲମ୍ବି.	“He did not spend the day at home.”

As a negative answer to a question, resort is made to a verb phrase introduced by :O / ur, or to one of the following adverbs: :Φ: / uhu, ΣΦΣ / ihi, .Ο.Λ / arah or Μ.Λ.Φ / lawah “no”:

ΣΘ ΗΗΨΥΙ ? / is ffyn ?	“Did they go out?”
:Ο ΗΗΞΨΥΙ. / ur ffiyn.	“No, they did not go out.”
:Φ: / ΣΦΣ / Μ.Λ.Φ. / uhu / ihi / lawah.	“No, they did not.”

### b. Discontinuous negation

The morpheme :O / ur can be accompanied by a second element of negation. When such a scenario holds, structures like :O Θ.Ο / ur sar and :O ΙΙΞΙ / ur jjin, and a number of other discontinuous forms, like :O ... Λ.Λ / ur ... sad, :O ... Λ.Μ: / ur ... walu, :O ... Κο / ur ... ca, :O ... Σο / ur ... yan, :O ... Σο+ / ur ... yat, :O ... Ο.Σο / ur ... amya, are observed. These diverse forms express different semantic values.

- :O Θ.Ο / ur sar “never”

:O Θ.Ο / ur sar has another reduced variant form, namely :Θ.Ο / u sar. The main specificity of this morpheme is to situate the negation of the process in the future, irrespective of the theme in which the verb is conjugated (perfective or imperfective).

:Ο Θ.Ο .Θ ΘΞΠΨΥ. / ur sar as siwly.	“I will never talk to him again.”
:Ο Θ.Ο .Λ .ΛΙ Θ.Λ.ΜΨΥ. / ur sar ad awn sawaly.	“I will never talk to you again.”
:Ο Θ.Ο .Λ .Θ ΣΙΣΙ Σο+. / ur sar ad as inin yat.	“They will never tell him anything again.”

Let it be noted that the form :O Θ.Ο / ur sar is much more observed in swearing contexts:

Μ.Φ.Φ :Ο Θ.Ο Ψ.Ο Θ.Ο / ullaḥ ur sar yurs ddin. “I swear by God, they will never go to see him.”

- :O ΙΙΞΙ / :O ΙΙΞΙ // ur jjin / ur jjun “never”

:O ΙΙΞΙ (:Ο ΑΙΞΙ) / :O ΙΙΞΙ // ur jjin (ur djin) / ur jjun are also realised as :Ο ΙΙΞ / :Ο ΙΙΞ // ur jji / ur jju. These morphemes, usually, situate the process in the past and are followed by verbs in the aorist and perfective forms.

:O II:ı O.Λ .R ΣCɯ .H.O. . / ur jjun rad ak iml ayaras.	“He will never show you the way.”
:O II:ı Σ*QΣ C:CCΣ. / ur jjin izri memmis.	“He has never seen his son.”
:O II:ı Σ Σ Σ*HΣ . / ur jjun inni izli a.	“He has never sung this song..”
:O II:ı + CΣ* . / ur jjin t umiżn.	“They have never arrested him.”

From an aspecto-temporal standpoint, the morphemes :O Θ.Ο / ur sar and :O II:ı (:O II:ı) / ur jjin (ur jjun) are complementary; the first situates the process in the future while the second situates it in the past.

- :O t. / ur ta, :O ... ḥ.Λ / ur ... ead “not ... yet”:

:O t. Λ ΣHΚΣ. / ur ta d ilkim.	“He has not arrived yet.”
:O ΣΘΘΣLΗ ḥ.Λ. / ur issiwl ead.	“He has not spoken yet.”
:O Λ Σ:ΘΣ ḥ.Λ. / ur d yusi ead.	“He has not come yet.”

- :O ... Θ:ɯ / ur ... sul “never (future)”:

:O Θ:ɯ *QΣΨ :C. / ur sul ʐriy uma.	“I have not seen my brother anymore.”
:O Θ:ɯ ΣΛΛΣ Θ +C. *ΣΟt. / ur sul iddi s tmazirt.	“He has not been to the country anymore.”

- :O ... ɬɬ.Λ (:O ... ɬɬ.ḥ) / ur ... qqah (ur ... qqaε), :O .KK“ / ur ... akk“ “not at all, not even”:

:O ΣΕΕΣΟ ɬɬ.Λ. / ur iṭtiş qqah.	“He has not slept at all.”
:O .KK“ CCΣl. / ur akk“ ccin.	“They have not even eaten.”

The morpheme ɬɬ.Λ (ɬɬ.ḥ) / qqah (qqaε) can be used at the head of the sentence:

ɬɬ.Λ :O .Θ ΘΘ.Π.ɯ.  
qqah ur as ssawal.  
“Never speak to him again.”

- :O ... Կ.Օ (X.O) / ur ... yas (yas), :O ՕԹՈ (ԹՈ) / ur ... abla (bla) “no / nobody / nothing ... but”:

:O ՏԱԼՏ Կ.Օ ԻՒ. / ur iddi yas ntta.	“Nobody left but him.”
:O ԱՄՔԸ ՕԹՈ ՀԵԵ. / ur nzri abla ițtu.	“We have not seen but Ițtu.”

- :O ... ԸՆ. / ur ... amya, :O Ա. / ur ... walu, :O ... Տ. / ur ... yat “not ... anything”, :O ... Տ. / ՏԻ // ur ... yan / ijj, :O ... ՀԱ. / ur ... հծ “not ... anybody”

The above different negative forms are used when negation is partial. Put in another way, the forms are observed when negation bears on one of the constituents of the sentence that has a specific grammatical function.

:O ՏՈՅԸՆ ԸՆ. / ur issin amya.	“He does not know anything.”
:O ԱՆԿ Ա. / ur nniy walu.	“I did not say anything.”
:O ՀԻՖԸԿ ՀԱ. / ur iffiy հծ.	“Nobody went out.”
:O ՏՈ.ԱՎ Տ. / ur isawl yan.	“Nobody spoke.”
:O ԱԿՏԸ Տ. / ur zřin yat.	“They did not see anything.”

Along with the negative forms :O ... Տ. (ՏԻ) / ur ... yan (ijj), it is possible to use the morphemes Ը / ag, ԱՎ / awd, ԱՎ. / ula and ՀԻՖ / htta “even” which surface immediately before Տ. / yan and ՏԻ / ijj.

:O ՏԱԼՏ ՀԻՖ Տ. / ur iddi htta yan.	“Nobody went.”
:Օ ՀՅՈՒ Ը ՏԻ. / ur d yusi ag ijj.	“Nobody came.”
:Օ Ի ՏՅԱ ՑՈ ՏԻ. / ur tt yumin ula ijj.	“Nobody believed her.”
:Օ ՏՈ.ԱՎ ԱՎ Տ. / ur isawl awd yan.	“Nobody spoke.”

The morphemes Ը ՏԻ / ag ijj, ԱՎ Տ. / awd yan, ԱՎ. ՏԻ / ula ijj and ՀԻՖ Տ. / htta yan can appear at the head of a sentence:

Ը ՏԻ :Օ ՀՅՈՒ. / ag ijj ur d yusi.	“Nobody came.”
ՀԻՖ Տ. :Օ ՏԱԼՏ. / htta yan ur iddi.	“Nobody went.”
ԱՎ Տ. :Օ ՏՈ.ԱՎ. / awd yan ur issiwl.	“Nobody spoke.”
ԱՎ. ՏԻ :Օ Ի ՏՅԱ ՑՈ. / ula ijj ur tt yumin.	“Nobody believed her.”

- // ur ... kra / ur ... ca / ur ... ci “not ... anything”

ꝑꝑ / kra, ꝑꝑ / ca and ꝑꝑ / ci are indefinite morphemes that are used when negation is partial.

:ꝑ ꝑꝑꝑ ꝑꝑ / ur syin ca.	“They have not bought anything.”
:ꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝑꝑ / ur yufi ca.	“He has not found anything.”

- :ꝑ ... ꝓꝑ / ur ... ula, :ꝑ ... ꝓꝑ ... ꝓꝑ / ur ... la ... la “neither ... nor”

These morphemes are used when negation bears on a coordinate NP.

ølløꝑ ꝓꝑꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ / annayy ḥmmu d yidir.	“I saw Hemmou and Idir.”
:ꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ / ur yannay ḥmmu ula idir.	“He saw neither Hemmou nor Idir.”
:ꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ / ur inni yah ula lawah.	“He said neither yes nor no.”
:ꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ ꝓꝑ / ur izri la tahddut la bajju.	“He saw neither Tahddout nor Bajjou.”

- :ꝑ ... ꝓꝑ / ur ... bu “not ... at all”

The morpheme :ꝑ / ur can be followed by ꝓꝑ / bu (:ꝑ ... ꝓꝑ / ur ... bu) to express a semantic value of intensity missing in the form without ꝓꝑ.

:ꝑ ꝑꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ / ur syiy adil.	“I bought no grapes.”
:ꝑ ꝑꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ ꝓꝑ / ur syiy bu wađil /	“I have not bought any grapes.”
:ꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ ꝓꝑ / ur umiżn bu tmnayt.	“They received no money.”
:ꝑ ꝓꝑꝑ ꝓꝑ ꝓꝑ / ur yurs bu uxxam.	“He does not have any house.”

The constituent that follows ꝓꝑ / bu takes the construct state form if it is a noun.

## 2.2. Non-verbal negation

A non-verbal negative sentence (*cf. 8.1.2*) is introduced by :ꝑ / ur “not” which comes right before the non-verbal predicate:

Λ .ԸԱՏ. / d amdyaz.	“He is a poet.”
:Օ Λ .ԸԱՏ. / ur d amdyaz.	“He is not a poet.”
Λ .ԸԿԿՅՈՒ. / ur d amzzyan.	“It is the small one.”
:Օ Λ .ԸԿԿՅՈՒ. / ur d amzzyan.	“It is not the small one.”
Λ ԻՒ. / d ntta.	“It is him.”
:Օ Λ ԻՒ. / ur d ntta.	“It is not him.”
Կ:ՕՕ ՕԼԱՏ. / yurs andaz.	“He is lucky.”
:Օ Կ:ՕՕ ՕԼԱՏ. / ur yurs andaz.	“He is not lucky.”
Λ Ա. / d wa.	“It is this one.”
:Օ Λ Ա. / ur d wa.	“It is not this one.”
Λ ԱԷՒ. / d winu.	“It is mine / they are mine.”
:Օ Λ ԱԷՒ. / ur d winu.	“It is not mine / they are not mine.”
:Օ Λ ՀԵԼԼԵ, ՈՒ ՄԱՐԿ. / ur d idnnaṭ, al azkka.	“It is not yesterday, it is until tomorrow.”
:Օ Λ Ա. ՑՈ. ՑՈ ՒՅՈՒՅՈ. / ur d wasa ula tiwcca.	“It is neither now nor tomorrow.”

When the predicate is a noun or an equivalent, :Օ / ur precedes the particle of predication Λ / d “it is”, hence the form :Օ Λ / ur d “it is not”. The latter structure undergoes a whole range of different alterations. Paramount among these alterations are :Օ ՀԵ / ur id and :ՈՒՅԵ Ա / ulli d. The common feature between these different realisations is the presence of :Օ / ur (in a full or reduced form) as well as the predicator Λ / d.

### 2.3 The negation of a compleutive or noun clause

To form negation, the compleutive clause introduced by ՀԵ / is “that” is preceded by the morpheme :Օ / ur and followed by the predicator Λ / d:

:Օ Λ ՀԵ ՀԵԿ. ԴԱՅՈՒ. / ur d isya taddart.	“It is not the fact that he bought a house.”
:Օ Λ ՀԵ Օ ԽԵԿ ՀԵԿ. / ur d is as nniy qqim.	“It is not the fact that I told him to stay.”

## 2.4. Position of direct / indirect object pronouns and orientation particles

In a negative sentence, the direct and indirect object affixal pronouns along with the particles of spatial orientation  $\Lambda$  / d and  $\text{I}$  / n appear in a preverbal position, immediately after the adverb of negation  $:O$  / ur. The order of the remaining elements of the sentence is left unscathed.

$\Sigma\kappa\Lambda$ / yukm d.	"He came in (from here)."
$:O \Lambda \Sigma\kappa\Lambda$ / ur d yukim.	"He did not come in (from here)."
$\Psi\Omega\Sigma$ . $\Theta$ / yriy as.	"I called him / her."
$:O .\Theta \Psi\Omega\Sigma$ / ur as yriy.	"I did not call him / her."
$*Q\Sigma$ t. / zriy t.	"I saw him."
$:O + *Q\Sigma$ / ur t zriy.	"I did not see him."
$:C\Sigma$ . $\Theta$ t. / uciy as t.	"I gave it to him."
$:O .\Theta + :C\Sigma$ / ur as t uciy.	"I did not give it to him."

## 3. Interrogative

The interrogative sentence is used to ask a question or get information from an interlocutor. Questions in Amazigh are divided into two categories: closed questions (also called yes / no questions) and open-ended questions. The first category of questions bears on the whole sentence and is answered by using yes or no while the second category bears only on a single part of the sentence.

When a question is given to a present interlocutor, the interrogative sentence is termed *direct*. Conversely, when the question is introduced (within a clause) by a verb like  $\Theta\zeta\Theta$  / sqsa "ask",  $*Q$  / zr "see", etc., it is dubbed *indirect*.

### 3.1. Closed questions

Linguists recognise two types of closed questions: direct closed questions and indirect closed questions.

#### a. Direct closed questions

Direct closed questions are always answered by yes or no. If the answer is positive, we get:  $\Sigma\Sigma\Theta$  / yyih,  $\Sigma.\Theta$  / yah,  $\Sigma.\Theta$  / wah "yes". If it is negative, we get:  $:O:$  / uhu,  $\Sigma\Theta\Sigma$  / ihi,  $\Sigma.\Sigma.\Theta$  / lawah,  $\Sigma\Sigma.$  / lla,  $.O.\kappa$  / arah "no".

In writing, a direct closed question is an independent sentence characterized orally by an interrogative intonation and by a question mark. A direct closed question is used when we speak directly to an interlocutor. Two processes are deployed to express interrogation: intonation and interrogative morphemes.

*(i) Direct closed questions marked by intonation only*

ἌΛει ? / ddan ?	“They went?”
ΣΕΛΤ ئِيْمَقْ.Q. / yiwt unzar.	“It rained.”

*(ii) Direct closed questions with interrogative morphemes*

Under this category, the interrogative morphemes ΣΘ / is and Λ. / ma are used to ask questions; they are compatible with verbs, nouns, quality nouns, adverbs and pronouns. Put in another way, ΣΘ / is and Λ. / ma are made available in verbal as well as non-verbal sentences.

- *Verbal sentences*

ΣΘ ΚΚ.ئ / is ccan ?	“Did they eat?”
Λ. Ο.ئ / ma rahن ?	“Did they go?”

- *Non-verbal sentences*

In a non-verbal sentence where the predicate is a noun (or an equivalent) or an adverb (*cf. 8.1.2.*), the interrogative morphemes ΣΘ / is and Λ. / ma are used with the predicative particle Λ / d to formulate the close question:

ΣΘ Λ Θ.ئ.ئ / is d babak ?	“Is it your father?”
Λ. Α Σ.ئ.ΣΘ / ma d illis ?	“Is it his / her daughter?”
ΣΘ Λ Κ.ئ.ئ / is d kmm ?	“Is it you (fem.)?”
Λ. Α Ι.ئ.ئ / ma d nttat ?	“Is it her?”
ΣΘ Λ ο.ئ.Ο.ئ / is d awray ?	“Is it the yellow one?”
Λ. Α ο.ئ.Ο.ئ / ma d abrkan ?	“Is it the black one?”
ΣΘ Λ Κ.Q.ئ / is d kraq ?	“Is it three?”
Λ. Α Θ.ئ.ئ / ma d smmus ?	“Is it five?”
ΣΘ Λ Λ.ئ.ئ / is d ddaw ?	“Is it down?”
Λ. Θ.ئ.Λ.ئ.ئ / ma s wadday ?	“Is it down?”

எ அ லு ? / ma d wa ?	"Is it this one?"
எ வேலு ? / is d imal?	"Is it next year?"

When the interrogative morpheme ξΘ / is is used, the orientation particles (Λ / d, l / n) and the direct and indirect object pronouns are placed before the verb, as set out in the examples below.

ΣΛΛ。Λ. / idda d.	>	ΣΘ Λ ΣΛΛ。? / is d idda ?	“Did he come?”
ΣΜΡΣ II. / ilmk nn.	>	ΣΘ ΙΙ ΣΜΡΣ ? / is nn ilmk ?	“Did he arrive (there)?”
Σ✳Q。†I. / izra tn.	>	ΣΘ †I Σ✳Q。? / is tn izra ?	“Did he see them?”
†ΨΟΣΛ。Θ. / tyrid as.	>	ΣΘ 。Θ †ΨΟΣΛ ? / is as tyrid ?	“Did you call him / her?”

As for the interrogative morpheme  $\text{E}_o$  / ma, it does not entail the movement of the orientation particles ( $\Lambda$  / d, l / n) and the direct and indirect object personal pronouns to a preverbal position. Conversely, when the interrogative morpheme is followed by the particle  $\text{o}\Lambda$  / ad (of the future) or the negative particle  $\text{:O}$  / ur, movement of the afore-mentioned elements is observed.

எ. சேது அ   யு மி ? / ma yusi d niy lla ?	“Did he come or not?”
எ. அ அ சேது ? / ma ad d yas ?	“Is he coming?”
எ. சேது அ து ? / ma ur d tusi ?	“Didn’t she come?”

### *b. Indirect closed questions*

An indirect closed question is made up of a main clause and a subordinate interrogative clause introduced by ξΘ / is or ΛΘ / ma:

ଓଡ଼ିବୁ + କଥା ତାପିଲାବୁ ହାତେକା ! / sqsa t is iswa atay!	“Ask him if he drank tea!”
ଖମ୍ବ କଥା ଆଏଲେଇ ! / elu is d iwdn !	“See if they have come!”
ତୋମରେ ହାତେକା ଆଏଲେଇ ! / sal ma tusi d immas !	“Ask if his mother came!”
ଓଡ଼ିବୁ + କଥା ଚାଇ ! / sqsa tn ma ccin !	“Ask (them) if they have eaten!”

### 3.2. Open-ended questions

An open-ended question tries to get information on one of the constituents of the sentence and always requires an explanatory answer. It is recognised by the use of a definite interrogative tool (pronoun or adverb).

#### a. Asking a question on the subject

To ask a question on the subject, we resort to the interrogative pronouns **எ** / ma or **இ** / wi which are followed by the participial form of the verb. The interrogative morphemes **எ** / ma and **இ** / wi are invariable. The morpheme **எ** / ma is followed by the topicalizers **எ** / ay or **ஓ** / ad, hence the forms **எ** **எ** / ma ay or **எ** **ஓ** / ma ad. At the phonetic level, **எ** **எ** / ma ay is realized as **எ** **எ** / may or **எ** **ஏ** / mag and **எ** **ஓ** / ma ad is realized as **எ** **ஓ** / mad or **எ** / ma. The different realizations are dependent on the context of use.

<b>எ</b> <b>எ</b> <b>ஏ</b> / ma ay iffyn ?	“Who went out?”
<b>எ</b> <b>ஓ</b> <b>ஏ</b> / ma ad iddan ?	“Who went?”
<b>இ</b> <b>எ</b> <b>ஏ</b> / wi d yudfn ?	“Who came in?”
<b>இ</b> <b>எ</b> <b>தீ</b> / wi t innan ?	“Who told it?”
<b>இ</b> <b>எ</b> <b>ஒ</b> / u d yusin ?	“Who came?”

Before a nominal subject, it is the interrogative morpheme **எ** / man that is employed. The latter is invariable and does not exercise any influence whatsoever on the state of the noun that it specifies. The verb that follows remains in the participial form.

<b>எ</b> <b>எ</b> <b>ஏ</b> / man amħdaṛ nn ibbin imalass ad ?	“Which student has been absent this week?”
<b>எ</b> <b>எ</b> <b>ஏ</b> / man tamħtuḍt isyan tanakṛa ?	“Which woman bought the rug?”

#### b. Asking a question on the direct object

Asking about the direct object necessitates the use of one of the following interrogative morphemes: **எ** / ma (followed by **ஓ** / ad or **எ** / ay), **இ** / min, **எ** / mayn or **இ** / wi “what, whom”. The verbs that follow these interrogative morphemes do not take the participial form and are conjugated normally.

Before a direct object, the interrogative morpheme **E<sub>o</sub>I** / man can be employed. Under this display, the interrogative morpheme functions as a determiner.

### *c. Asking a question on the indirect object*

When the inquiry holds on an indirect object, the interrogative sentence is introduced by the morpheme  $\sqcap_\bullet$  / ma or  $\circ$  / u, followed by the morpheme  $\sqcap\Sigma$  / mi and / or the preposition that precedes the indirect object. The three elements may coexist, bringing about complex forms like:  $\sqcap_\bullet \Sigma \sqcap\Sigma$  / ma i mi “to whom”,  $\sqcap_\bullet \odot \sqcap\Sigma$  / ma s mi “with what” and  $\sqcap_\bullet \times\!X \sqcap\Sigma$  / ma xf mi “on what, about what ...”.

እርሃ እኋል የዚህንን ተከራክር ይችላል / iwca iqaridn i eli.	“He gave the money to Ali.”
ለ ጥሩ እኋል የዚህንን ተከራክር ይችላል? / ma mi iwca iqaridn ?	“To whom did he give the money?”

𠂇 / ma and 𠂇 / u always appear at the beginning of the interrogative sentence followed by 𠂇 / mi (𠂇 𠂇 / ma mi, 𠂇 𠂇 / u mi “to whom”) especially when the preposition 𠂇 / i introduces the indirect object. The preposition 𠂇 / i may also hold before the morpheme 𠂇 / mi (𠂇 𠂇 / i mi).

ξ ΚΣ ΚΜΙ .ΘΟΞΛ ? / i mi mlan abrid ?	“To whom did they show the way?”
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When the indirect object is introduced by a preposition other than Σ / i, the preposition may follow (Σ. ⊖ / ma s “with what”, Σ. ΗΟ / ma yr “at whose house”) or precede the interrogative pronoun. When the preposition precedes the interrogative pronoun, it is ΚΣ / mi or its variant ΚΣΧΣ / mizi that is employed (⊖ ΚΣ / s mi, ⊖ ΚΣΧΣ / s mizi “with what” ...):

†ΘΘΞ .✳.ΗΞ□ ⊖ +✳Χ✳.Μ+. / tbbi azalim s tuzzalt.	“She cut onions with a knife”
Σ. ⊖ †ΘΘΞ .✳.ΗΞ□ ? / ma s tbbi azalim ?	“What did she cut onions with?”
⊖ ΚΣΧΣ †ΘΘΞ .✳.ΗΞ□ ? / s mizi tbbi azalim ?	“What did she cut onions with?”
⊖ ΚΣ †ΘΘΞ .✳.ΗΞ□ ? / s mi tbbi azalim ?	“What did she cut onions with?”

#### *d. Interrogative sentences bearing on adverbs and adverb phrases*

Interrogative sentences can also be used to get information on time, place, manner, quantity and cause, and be expressed by a host of interrogative adverbs.

##### *(i) interrogative adverbs of time*

To ask about time, we resort to a set of adverbs such as Ε.Ι.Χ“ / manag<sup>w</sup> and ΚΣΗΚΣ / milmi “when”.

Ε.Ι.Χ“ / manag<sup>w</sup> is followed by the topicalizer οΛ / ad which may undergo truncation and surface as ο / a:

Ε.Ι.Χ“ οΛ ΗΞΨΙ ? / manag <sup>w</sup> ad ffyn ?	“When did they go out?”
Ε.Ι.Χ“ οΛ Ο.Λ ΛΛΩΙ ? / manag <sup>w</sup> ad rad ddun ?	“When will they go?”

ΚΣΗΚΣ / milmi (or ΚΗΚΣ / mlmi) is followed by οΣ / ay when the verb is in the perfective or imperfective form and by ο Ο. / a ra, ο ΗΟ. / a γra or ο Η. / a γa when the verb is in the aorist theme.

መልሚ ላኩ ፌርማት ? / milmi ay immut ?	“When did he die?”
መልሚ ላኩ ተለለዎት ? / milmi ay tddamt ?	“When did you (plr. fem.) go?”
መልሚ እ የ ተረጋግጧት ? / milmi i ya tmattimt ?	“When are you (plr. fem.) going to move house?”
መልሚ ዘ ያ የ ለዕድ ? / milmi a ra d yawd ?	“When will he arrive?”
መልሚ ዘ የ ተከራክር ? / milmi a ya ttshm ??	“When will you (plr.) sleep?”

Let it be noted that **መልሚ ላኩ** / milmi + ay is realized as **መልሚ ዘ** / milmi + ag when the verb is conjugated in the third masculine singular person.

መልሚ ላኩ ፌርማት ? / [መልሚ ዘ ፌርማት] milmi ag mmut ?	“When did he die?”
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### (ii) *Interrogative adverbs of place*

When the question holds on place or location, the interrogative adverb **ይልቅ** / mani “where”, which is usually followed by a preposition, introduces the interrogative sentence. The prepositions that follow **ይልቅ** / mani express one of the following values:

- Location:

ይልቅ ይዴንግሬ ? / mani g izdy ?	“Where does he live?”
ይልቅ ይዴንግሬ የዕምላዊ ዴሞክራሲያዊ ሪፐብሊክ ? / mani g illa iyrm nnun ?	“Where is your (plr. masc.) village?”

- direction and movement:

ይልቅ ይዴንግሬ ተለለዎት ? / mani yr tddid ?	“Where are you going?”
ይልቅ ይዴንግሬ ተደርሱ ? / mani s irwl ?	“Where did he flee?”

- Origin:

ይልቅ ይዴንግሬ ተደርሱ ? / mani s irwl ?	“Where did he flee?”
ይልቅ ይዴንግሬ ተደርሱ ? / mani s ckk ?	“Where are you from?”

The interrogative **ይልቅ** / mani can be followed directly by:

- a verb:

எோக்கோக் / mani irah ?	“Where did he go?”
எோக்கும் எ / mani tllam ?	“Where are you (plr. Masc.)?”
எோக்குதல் எ / mani t yufa ?	“Where did he find it?”

- a noun or pronoun:

எோக்குதல் எ / mani abrid ?	“Where is the way?”
எோக்குவர்க்கு எ / mani s amddakkwl nnk ?	“Where is your friend?”
எோக்கு எ / mani t ?	“Where is he?”

In general terms, there is a tendency to favour the verbal sentence with the following structure:

**எோக்கு / Mani + (preposition) + verb கோக் / ili**

எோக்குவர்க்கு வர்க்கு எ / mani llan lwacun ?	“Where are the children?”
எோக்கு வர்க்கு வர்க்கு எ / mani g illa uyaras ?	“Where is the way?”

We also obtain எோக்கு / manza “where” before a noun or pronoun:

எோக்கு வர்க்கு வர்க்கு எ / manza tarwa nnk ?	“Where are the children?”
எோக்கு எ / manza t ? ?	“Where is he?”
எோக்கு வாசு எ / manza imi ?	“Where is the entrance?”

*(iii) Interrogative adverbs of manner*

When the inquiry holds on the manner in which something has been done, the main interrogative morphemes deployed are: எோக்கு / manik, எோக்கு / mamnk, எோக்கு / mammk, எோக்கு / maka, எோக்கு / mimc and எோக்கு / manc “how”:

எோக்கு வாசு எ / manik ad tskrm ?	“How did you do?”
எோக்கு வாசு எ / mamnk ad tgid ?	“How are you?”
எோக்கு வாசு எ / mammk ?	“How are you? (after a misfortune)”
எோக்கு வாசு எ / maka ay tqqimd ?	“What are we going to do?”

Not unlike the interrogative morphemes of time, interrogative morphemes of manner are followed by  $\circ\Lambda$  / ad -  $\circ\delta$  / ay (or their short forms).

(iv) *Interrogative adverbs of quantity*

The interrogative adverbs of quantity are: **မြင်က** / mnck, **မြတ်** / mcta, **မြန်လဲ** / mchal and **မြော်လှ** / mnaw “how much, how many”:

- **mnck**, **mcta**, **mchall**

When these adverbs specify a noun, they are always followed by the genitive preposition *l / n*:

၂၄၁။။ ၁၉၀၅။ ? / mchāl n tmyarin ?	“How many women?”
၂၄၂။။ ၁၉၀၅။ ? / mcta n ixamn ?	“How many houses?”
၂၄၃။။ ၁၉၀၅။ ? / mnckk n watay ?	“How much tea?”

When they are followed by a verb, the adverbs of quantity are used along with the topicalizers **▫A** / ad and **▫S** / ay or their variant **▫** / a:

לְכָלֹתּוּ שֶׁבֶתְּסִים ? / mchal ay iqqimn ?	“How many remain?”
לְכָלֹתּוּ שֶׁבֶתְּסִים ? / mchal ay iqqimn ?	“How many did you (plr. masc.) buy?”
לְכָלֹתּוּ שֶׁבֶתְּסִים ? / mchal ay iqqimn ?	“How many are you?”

- 𠎤 / mnnaw

The adverb **ԷԼՈՒ** / mnaw, which is used only with countable nouns, is not followed by a preposition; yet, it induces the noun that comes right after it to take the construct state form. Agreement in gender also holds between the interrogative morpheme and the noun:

၃။၂။၂။၂။၀။၁ ? / mnnaw wussan?	“How many days?”
၃။၂။၂။၉။၁။၅ ? / mnnawt tmyarin?	“How many women?”

(v) *Interrogative adverbs of cause and reason*

When we want to ask about cause or reason, we resort to the following interrogative adverbs: **எனக்கு** / maxf (reduced forms **என்** / max // **என** / maf), **எனவே** / mayar or **எனது** (**எனக்கு**) / maymmi (maxmmi) "why".

The interrogative morpheme **ئەخ** / max, counter to **ئەھ** / maf and **ئەھو** / mayar, is followed by **ەس مەۋەخ** / ay llig or one of its variants (**ەس مەۋەخ** / ay llix or **ەس مەۋەخى** / ay lliy).

<b>ئەخ ەس مەۋەخ تۇلۇم؟ /</b> max ay llig trwld ?	“Why did you flee?”
<b>ئەخ ەس مەۋەخ ئەچەق؟ /</b> max ay llig iffy?	“Why did he go out?”
<b>ئەھ ئەن ئەلەم؟ /</b> maf ur iddi?	“Why didn't he go?”
<b>ئەھو تەخەل ئەل تەڭەن؟ /</b> mayar tugid ad traḥd ?	“Why did you refuse to go?”
<b>ئەھو تەخەل ئەلەم؟ /</b> mayar tggid ammu ?	“Why are you like this?”

#### 4. The exclamative sentence

An exclamative sentence expresses a strong feeling (surprise, anger, indignation, pleasure, joy, etc.) or a speaker's emotional judgement on a an event or situation.

<b>ئۇلۇ!</b> / irwl !	“He fled!”
<b>لەل!</b> / ddan !	“They went!”
<b>ئۇزى!</b> / irza !	“He is broken!”

The make-up of an exclamative sentence is in no way different from the make-up of interrogative and affirmative sentences. The only exception observed between an exclamative sentence and the other afore-mentioned sentences is the use of an exclamative intonation in speaking and an exclamation mark in writing. Orally, an exclamative intonation is realized by lengthening the final vowel.

<b>لەل.</b> / ddan .	(assertion)	“They went.”
<b>لەل!</b> / ddan !	(exclamation)	“They went!”
<b>لەل?</b> / ddan ?	(question)	“They went?”

Besides intonation, exclamation can also be marked by exclamative morphemes belonging to different classes (interrogative morphemes, indefinite morphemes, interjections).

#### **4.1. Expressing exclamation by intonation**

Exclamation may well be expressed by intonation only. When this happens, the structure of the sentence is identical to the affirmative sentence:

﴿وَهُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِأَنَّهَا مُهْلِكَةٌ﴾ / yufa tt !	“He found her!”
﴿أَنَّهَا أَبْرَاجٌ﴾ / tyuda !	“She is beautiful!”
﴿أَنَّهَا كَوَافِرٌ﴾ / d amqqran !	“It / He is big!”
﴿أَنَّهَا قَوَافِرٌ﴾ / imqqur !	“He is big!”

Some exclamative sentences are made up of a noun phrase whose determiner is a stressed indefinite morpheme:

- **Σοι / ΣΙΙ** // yan / ijj “one (masc.)”, **Σοτ / ΣΕΤ** // yat / ict “one (fem.)”

ዶ.ወ.ቃ! / yan t̥ajin !	“a tagine! = What a tagine!”
ዶ.ትርሃዣ! / yat tmyra !	“a ceremony (marriage)! = What a ceremony!”

- **KO.** / kra // **C.** / ca “*some, something*”

KO. I U. H:WFK! / kra n wafulki !	"What a beauty!"
CO. I t. EHFK! / ca n tađfi !	"What sweetness!"

A noun phrase introduced by Φ. / ha may express exclamation if it is uttered with an exclamative intonation accompanied by stress on Φ. / ha.

ଓ。ତୋରେଇବୁନ୍ଦି ! / ha tammara !	“What a pain!”
ଓ。ତେବୁନ୍ଦିଯାଇବିଲି ! / ha timyarin !	“These are really good ladies!”
ଓଇ ଉପାଳି ! / han awal !	“It is well said!”

#### **4.2. Exclamation by using exclamative tools**

Some morphemes express both interrogation and exclamation (*cf.* 8.3.2), as set out below:

- Cotto / matta “what”

When reduplication (ex. 1, 2) or expansion (ex. 3) of  $\sqcap\text{+}\sqcap$  / matta is noted, the sentence evokes a positive opinion:

1. カット。＊＊＼カット。！ / matta zzin matta !	“What a beauty!”
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2. ڦوٽٽا ٿڻڻوٽلے ڦوٽٽا ! / matta tmyriwin matta !	“What beautiful mariages!”
3. ڦوٽٽا ۽ ڦڻڻ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / matta ayyis isya t !	“What a beautiful horse he bought!”
4. ڦوٽٽا ٿڻڻ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / matta tmazirt ad !	“What a (bad) country!”

- ڦوٽا / mana “what”

ڦوٽا : ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ !  
mana umiyis a n uhnjir !  
“What an intelligent boy!”

- ڦ ڦ ڦ / min “how, how much, how many”

ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / min imyar memmik !	“(look) How much your son has grown!”
ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / min yars zi wagra !	“How much property he has!”

- ڦ ڦ ڦ / Mamnk, ڦ ڦ ڦ / manik, ڦ ڦ ڦ / mamk “how, how much, how many”

ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / mamnk ad ittikşuq !	“How fearful he is!”
ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / mamnk ad yandum !	“How thin he became!”
ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / mamk işbh uyrum a !	“How nice is this bread!”

- ڦ ڦ ڦ / mayn “how, how much, how many”

ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! /  
mayn tfsusd !

“How quick are you !”

- ڦ ڦ ڦ / mcta, ڦ ڦ ڦ / mchal, ڦ ڦ ڦ / mnck “how much / many”

ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / mcta d iħħlan ay da ittqqis !	“ He says nothing but lies!”
ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / mchal d adfl !	“A lot of snow!”
ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ڦ ! / mnck ad lan!	“How big are they!”

When they introduce a non-verbal sentence with a nominal predicate, ڦ ڦ ڦ / mcta, ڦ ڦ ڦ / mchal and ڦ ڦ ڦ / mnck are used with the predication particle

Λ / d. Conversely, when they introduce a verbal sentence, the interrogative adverbs are used with Α / ad or Σ / ay.

- Ε.ΙΣ / mani “where”

Ε.ΙΣ ΙΙ.Ι Λ.Ο.Ο.Ι Η.Λ.Ι.Ι ! / “How beautiful were those days!”  
mani llan wussan yudanin !

Word repetition may also be used to express exclamation, as is clear in the following examples:

◦.Ο.Ο. Α. Σ.Χ.◦.Ι.◦.Ο.Ο.◦ ! / ass ad igan ass a !	“ What a great day!”
◦.◦.Η.Ο.Σ., ◦.◦.Η.Ο.Σ.! / a aeri, a aeri !	“Oh, my happiness!”

*Other processes (expressions, words)*

Σ.Η ! / yuf ! “ That’s for the best!”

Φ.Η.Κ.◦.Κ ! / hakkak ! (astonishment)

Σ.Ο.Η.◦.Λ.◦.Κ. Q.Θ.Θ.Σ ! / iryud ak ῥbbi ! “Congratulations!”

Λ.◦.Φ.Η.Σ ! / wahli ! “By Jove, of course! ”



## CHAPTER 9

### Complex sentence

A sentence is termed complex when it consists of two or many clauses. Complex sentences bifurcate into three categories: sentences with subordinate clauses, sentences with coordinate clauses and sentences with juxtaposed clauses.

ԷՒՅՈ ԱՎԱԼ ԻՆՏ Ծ ԻԼՍԼ. / ittu awal lli as tnnid.	“ He forgot what you told him”
ՏԱԼԱ ԻՆՎ ՅՕ ՏԱԼԱԾ ? / idda niy ur iddi ?	“Did he go or not?”
ՏԿԸՆ Ա, Տ Ծ ԸՆԸՆԸՆ, ՏՀԵԿՎ. / tkcm d, tasi memmis, tffy.	“She came in, she took her son, she left.”

The sentences above are complex. This is ascribed to the following reasons: The first contains a subordinate clause (relative clause), the second consists of two coordinated clauses (linked by the coordinator niy “or” (ny is its variant)) and the third has three juxtaposed clauses devoid of any subordination morphemes (conjunctions).

One of the main attributes of the subordination complex sentence is the fact that it is made up of two clauses: an independent clause (main clause) and a dependent clause (subordinate clause); both clause are related to each other via a morpheme or conjunction of subordination. We recognise three categories of subordinate clauses: relative, noun and adverbial clauses.

#### 1. Relative clauses

In general terms, a relative clause functions as an expansion of a precedent noun phrase. The expansion concerns one of the following elements: a subject, a direct object, an indirect object or an adverbial phrase. A relative clause can be linked to a main clause by a relative morpheme or pronoun. Relative clauses bifurcate into two types: relative clauses with antecedents and relative clauses without antecedents.

## 1.1. Relative pronouns

A relative clause is introduced by one of the following pronouns or morphemes: **ИИΣ** / lli, **Λο** / da, **ИИ** / nna, **ИИΣ** / nni and **Σ** / i. These pronouns share the same syntactic behaviour and have the same distribution:

<b>:o ΣΩΛΣ ΠοΠοИ ИИΣ οΘ +ИИΣΛ.</b> / ur işhi wawal lli as tnnid.	“What you told him is not right.”
<b>+ΟΘ+ИИΣ +*QΣΛ ΣИИΣΘ Ι:Л.</b> / tarbat nni tṣrid illis n uma.	“The girl you saw is my niece.”
<b>+ΛΛο +ΗΟ:X+ ИИ. +*QΣΛ.</b> / tdda tfruxt nna tṣrid.	“The girl you saw left.”

The relative pronouns presented above share the following characteristics:

- a. To the exception of **Σ** / i, they are optional. In fact, their absence does not affect the grammaticality of the sentence.

<b>.ΗΟ:X ΣΟΙИИ ΣXXΛ.</b> / afrux irwln igg <sup>w</sup> d.	“The boy who fled was frightened.”
<b>+ΛΛο +ΗΟ:X+ +*QΣΛ.</b> / tdda tfruxt tṣrid.	“The girl you saw left.”
<b>:Ο ΣΩΛΣ ΠοΠοИ +ИИΣΛ.</b> / ur işhi wawal tnnid.	“What you said is wrong.”

- b. They always obtain at the beginning of a relative clause, just after the antecedent. However, they may well be separated from the antecedent by a specifying morpheme, such as the demonstrative pronouns **ο** / a (and its variant **օ** / u), **ИИ** / ann, **ΣΙ** / in and **ИИΣ** / nni.

<b>+Η:Λο +ИКQο .Λ ИИΣ +ΘΥΣΛ.</b> / tyuda tnkra ad lli tsyid.	“It is beautiful, this mat you bought.”
<b>.ΛИИΣΟ ИИΣ Σ +*QΣΛ Λ:ЦЦΣΘ   :ИЛС. / ahnjir nni i tṣrid memmis n ultma.</b>	“The boy you saw is my nephew.”
<b>ΣΟΞП :НΘ.И ИИΣ Λο +ΘΥΣΛ.</b> / iriw ueban nni da tsyid.	“They are large the clothes you bought.”

- c. Relative pronouns are invariable: they preserve the same form no matter what the morphological features of the antecedent are:

ଓଡ଼ିଆ । ଓଖାରୁ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା । / ssny argaz nni iffyn.	"I know the man who went out."
ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଏତେବେଳୀ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା । / ΛΣିଲ୍ଲି । / sawly i tmyart nna iskkusn dinn.	"I talked to the woman who is sitting there."
ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଏତେବେଳୀ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା । / sawly i tmyarin lli skkusn dinn.	"I talked to the women sitting there."

## **1.2. Relative clauses with antecedents**

A relative clause with a nominal antecedent exhibits a whole range of specificities on the basis of the nature of the relative clause used and the grammatical function of the relative pronoun. The latter can be the subject, direct object, indirect object or object of a preposition of the relative clause.

*a. The relative pronoun as a subject*

Փ. օՕԹ.   Է ԷՕ.   օՐԿԵՏ. / ha arba nni iran akzin.	“Here is the boy who wants the dog.”
օՀԻՑՕ   Է Է ԷՕ. օՀ. / ahnjir nni i irahn d uma.	“The boy who went is my brother.”
օՏԱՏ ԱՎԵ ՏՒ. ԿՈ ՅՕ. օ ՏՒԹԹԵՏ. / aydi lli ittayn ur ar ittbbi.	“The dog that barks does not bite.”

When the relative pronoun is a subject, the verb takes the participial form (*cf. 5.1.2.c*), hence the verb forms ئۆل / iran “having wanted”, ئۆخىل / irahñ “having gone” and ئەتھۇل / ittayn “barking” used in the three examples presented above. The preverbal particles ئە / a ra, ئە / a ya and ئە / i ya are free variants and can substitute ئە / ad (the future morpheme) when the verb is conjugated in the aorist form:

†ΞΩΞΟΟ. †ΣΙ Υ. ΣΣΙΣΙ ΣΙΨΞΘΙ ΛΛ. It.  
ticirratin ya yinin inymisn ddant.  
“The girls who will tell the news are gone.”

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ΞΟ ΤΗΗΞ ΞΗΤΞ. O. ΞΘΘΙΞ ΞΞΙΘΞ Σ ΞΙΘΞΞΠΙ  
ur tlli ultma a ra issnun imnsi i inbgiwn.  
“My sister who will prepare dinner to the guests is not here.”

### *b. The relative pronoun as a direct object*

When the relative pronoun is a direct object, the verb of the relative clause is conjugated and takes the usual inflectional markers that the verb takes in the different themes (*cf. 5.1.2.a*).

ΣΥΛΛΑ :ΛΗΣΘ   . t.O. / iyuda udlis nna tara.	“The book she wrote is interesting.”
t.ΘΥ.Ot Λ. *M.I t.CM. / tasyart da zzan tumz.	“The tree they planted held.”
ΣCZZ. :ΘΟΣΛ ΗΗΣ Υ. t.CM.C. / icqqa ubrid lla ya tamzm.	“The way you are going to take is difficult.”
:C .Θ .ZO.Θ   S t.ΘΥ. ΣΕII.Ε. / uc as aqrab nni tsya iðnnat.	“Give her the bag she bought yesterday.”

### *c. The relative pronoun as an indirect object*

When the relative pronoun is a an indirect object, the relative clause is introduced by the preposition Σ / i “to” followed by the relative pronoun ΣΣ / mi or :ΣΣ / umi “that”. The use of the preposition remains optional, as laid out in the following examples:

•ΗΟ:X (Σ) ΣΣ ΗΚΣΥ ΣΖ.QΣΕΙ ΣΗ+. afrux (i) mi fkiy iqarıdn ifta. “The boy to whom I have given the money left.”
Ο.ΛΙ ΣΛΙΙΣΟΙ (Σ) :ΣΣ t.ΣΣΛ Τ+ΣΙΣ+. rahn iħnjirn (i) umi tucid ttmnyat. “The boys to whom you have given the money left.”

The use of the relative pronouns (ΗΗΣ / lli, Λ. / da, ||. / nna, ||S / nni, Σ / i) is possible with ΣΣ / mi “to which”:

•ΗΟ:X ΗΗΣ ΣΣ ΗΚΣΥ ΣΖ.QΣΕΙ ΣΗ+. afrux lli mi fkiy iqarıdn ifta. “The boy to whom I have given the money left.”
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### *d. The relative pronoun as an object of a preposition other than Σ / i*

Two scenarios are observed when the relative pronoun is an object of a preposition other than Σ / i “to”:

- The relative clause is introduced by a preposition followed by the relative pronoun **£ξ / mi** (as in the case of the relative pronoun that refers to an indirect object);

- the relative pronoun is followed by a preposition.

The sequences *preposition + £ξ / mi* and *relative pronoun + preposition* form what we might call a prepositional relative or a complex relative.

(i) *Preposition + £ξ / mi*

†.ΛΛ.Օ† X £ξ Ξ*ΛԿ t.XX:X. / taddart g mi izdy taggug.	“The house where he lives is far.”
†.ԸΛΣԻ† ԿՕ £ξ ՏՕ.Հ ՒՅԹ. / tamdint yr mi irah tshb.	“The city where he is going to live is beautiful.”
:Օ ԽՈՅՏ ԸԱԼԻ Կ:Օ £ξ ՏԱԼ. / ur nssin mddn yur mi idda.	“We do not know the people to whom he paid a visit.”
†.ՑԼ. ՒԵ:Օ† ԱԽ £ξ Ա Տ:Օ.. / tcna tmurt zg mi d yusa.	“The country from which he came is beautiful.”
†.ՑՂՂ. ՒԵՈՒ.Տ† ԱՀ £ξ ՏՈՒՈ. / tcqqa tmslayt xf mi isawal.	“The issue he is talking about is delicate.”
:Օ ԽՈՅՏ ՏԱԼՈ. ԱԽ £ξ ՏՕ.Հ. / ur nssin iwdan agd mi irah.	“We do not know the people he went with.”
ՏՀՂՂ:Օ :ՄՔ: Ծ £ξ + Տ:Գ. / imqqur uzru s mi t yut.	“The stone with which he hit him is big.”

(ii) *Relative pronoun + preposition*

In general terms, the relative clause is introduced by a relative pronoun followed by a preposition; the nature of the latter depends on the verb used.

ՏՀԱ. Ա.ՏՏԵՑՈ Խ. ԽՀ ՏՈՅՈ:Հ. / icwa wayyis nna xf issuda.	“ The horse on which he is riding is beautiful.”
†.ԸԱՏԻ† ԽՆ ԿՀ Ա Տ:Օ. Ւ.XX:X. / tamdint nni zi d yusa taggug.	“The city from which he came is far.”
Ա. Ա.Ա ՏԵՂ ՏԱՈ. / anu lli g idr idra.	“The well in which he fell is deep.”

### 1.3. Relative clauses without antecedents

A relative clause without antecedent is a clause whose relative pronoun is devoid of an overt nominal antecedent:

ԿՈ Տ Ա.ՎԻՆ ՏՀԵԿՎԻ ! / yr i walli iffyn !	“Call the one who went out!”
ՕՏ Ա.ՏԻ ՎԻՆ ՏՕՏԼ ! / asi win lli trid !	“Take the one you want!”

In the examples presented above, the relative clauses Ա.ՎԻՆ ՏՀԵԿՎԻ / walli iffyn and Ա.ՏԻ ՎԻՆ ՏՕՏԼ / win lli trid are not expansions of a nominal antecedent. They are introduced by Ա.ՎԻՆ / walli and Ա.ՏԻ / win which are made up of demonstrative Ա. / wa and Ա. / wi. In this sort of relative clauses, we use other elements to support the relative pronoun; these elements are demonstrative pronouns which are variable in gender and number. The combination of demonstrative pronouns and relative pronouns brings about the following paradigms:

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun ՎԻՆ / lli

Ա.ՎԻՆ / walli	“the one (masc.) who”
Տ.ՎԻՆ / talli	“the one (fem.) who”
Ա.ՎԻՆ / willi	“those (masc.) who”
Տ.ՎԻՆ / tilli	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun Ա. / da

Ա.Ա. / wada	“the one (masc.) who”
Տ.Ա. / tada	“the one (fem.) who”
Ա.Ա. / wida	“those (masc.) who”
Տ.Ա. / tida	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun Ա. / nna

Ա.Ա. / Ա.Ա. // wanna / wnna	“the one (masc.) who”
Տ.Ա. / Տ.Ա. // tanna / tnna	“the one (fem.) who”
Ա.Ա. / winna	“those (masc.) who”
Տ.Ա. / tinna	“those (fem.) who”

- Demonstrative pronouns + the relative pronoun Ա. / nni

Ա.Ա. / Ա.Ա. // wanni / wnni	“the one (masc.) who”
Տ.Ա. / Տ.Ա. // tanni / tnni	“the one (fem.) who”
Ա.Ա. / winni	“those (masc.) who”

ተጀለጀ / tinni	“those (fem.) who”
ውጀለጀ / aynni	“what, that”
ዘጀለጀ + ፌ ለጀለጀ + ፌጀጀ ! / fk t i walli t iran !	“Give it to the one who wants it!”
በጀለጀ + ተጀጀ ላ ይጀጀ እና የዕወንድ ተጀጀ . / willi tzrid d ierrimn.	“Those you have seen are young.”
በዕና ይሂዕል ተ ቅዱት ያጀለጀ ተ . / wnna iyran tabrat yini t.	“The one who read the letter says it.”
በጀለጀ ዓይነ ተጀለጀ ይሂዕል + ! / winna ur qbilnin inin t !	“The ones who do not accept say it!”
ውጀለጀ ተጀጀ ይሂዕል የዕወንድ . / aynna tnnid iga leib.	“What you said is not appropriate!”

#### 1.4. The position of personal pronouns in relative clauses

In a relative clause, direct and indirect object personal pronouns appear in a preverbal position, between the relative pronoun and the verb.

ውጀለ ዘዴስ ዓይነ ተጀጀ ይሂዕል . / awal lli as tnnid iqsh.	“What you told him is harsh.”
ሻላለ ዓይነ ተጀጀ ይሂዕል . / idda umsay nna tni istin.	“The buyer who chose them left.”
፡ ዓይነ ተጀጀ ተ ይሂዕል . / ur nssin argaz wnni i as tn yukrn.	“We do not know the one who stole them from him.”
በዕወንድ የዕና ዓይነ ተጀጀ ይሂዕል . / ssiwly i wnna asn izznzn tamazirt.	“I talked to the man who sold them the land.”

## 2. Noun clauses

A noun clause consists of a main clause and a subordinate clause. It usually functions as a complement of the verb of the main clause and may also meet a number of other grammatical functions. The noun clause plays the role of a noun and has its diverse grammatical functions. It is linked to the main clause by the following subordinators: ይሂል / is, የዕወንድ / aqqa and የአ / ad “that”. Each of these morphemes has a specific context of use.

Three types of noun clauses are recognised: declarative noun phrases introduced by ይሂል / is or የዕወንድ / aqqa, interrogative noun clauses introduced

by an interrogative morpheme and modal noun clauses introduced by **◦Λ / ad.**

## **2.1. The morphemes **ΞΘ / is**, **◦ΖΖ◦ / aqqa** and **◦Λ / ad****

### **a. The morpheme **ΞΘ / is****

The morpheme or subordinator **ΞΘ / is** has the following features:

- It is morphologically invariable and keeps the same form irrespective of the context in which it is employed.
- It appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

**॥◦Ι ΞΘ ΞΟΛΗ. / nnan is irwl.** “They thought he fled away.”

- If the noun clause includes direct and indirect personal pronouns or the orientation particles **Λ / d** and **॥ / nn**, the pronouns and particles are placed in a preverbal position immediately after **ΞΘ / is**.

<b>ΞΘΟΙ ΞΘ ◦Θ +Ι Σ◦Ε◦.. / issn is as tn yuca.</b>	“He knows that he has given them to him.”
<b>ΣΥ◦Ι ΞΘ Λ ΛΛ◦Ι. / iyal is d ddan.</b>	“He thought they have come (over here).”

- **ΞΘ / is** can introduce a declarative noun clause as much as it can introduce an indirect interrogative noun clause:

<b>◎ΜΗΨ ΞΘ Σ+◦ΘΗ. / sly is itahl.</b>	“I have heard he got married.”
<b>◎ΖΘ◦ ΞΘ ΣΛ◦Ι ! / sqsa is edan !</b>	“Ask if they have left or not!”

**ΞΘ / is**, in the second sentence, behaves as an interrogative morpheme that introduces an interrogative noun clause. In fact, it is the meaning of the verb of the main clause that determines the value of **ΞΘ / is**. The verb **◎ΖΘ◦ / sqsa** of the main clause shows that we are dealing with a question.

- **ΞΘ / is**, whether used in a declarative or interrogative noun phrase, can introduce a subordinate clause devoid of a verb predicate:

**॥ΣΥ ΞΘ ◦Ο Σ◦Ο◦ Ξ◦Ε◦Ο◦Ι. / nniy is ur yurs icirran.** “I thought he did not have any children.”

- When the noun clause is a yes / no indirect interrogative clause, the clause may also be introduced by **Σ◦ / ma** “if”:

ՕՏԿ .Λ ԾԾԻՎ Ը .Λ ՀԵԵԾ Ը ՆԵԼՈՒ. / “I want to know if it is  
riy ad ssny ma d fṭuc i d yiwlн. Fettouch who got married.”

- When the interrogative noun clause is partial. Put in another way, when the question holds on one of the constituents of the subordinate clause, the latter is introduced by an interrogative morpheme depending on the grammatical function of the element on which the question holds:

ԾՂԸ .Ը .Տ ՏԱԼՈ ! / sqsa ma ay iddan !	“Ask who left!”
†ԾՂԸ .Ց Ց :ՑՈ ! ՒՄԿՈՒ. / tsqsa umi ucan ttmnyat	“She wants to know to whom they gave the money.”
ԾՂԸ .Ը ՀԿԿՎՈ ! / sqsa milmi ay ffyn !	“Ask when they left!”

### b. The morpheme .ԵՂ . / aqqa

As a subordinator, .ԵՂ . / aqqa “that” may equally introduce the declarative noun phrase:

ԾԼԿԿ .ԵՂ . .Ա ՏԱԼՈՒ. / sliy aqqa ad idwl.	“I heard he will be back.”
ԾՈ .ՀԿԱ .ԵՂ . ՏԱԼՈՒ Օ.Խ. / inna hmd aqqa iwdan rahn.	“Ahmed said that the people went.”

Unlike ՏԸ / is, the morpheme .ԵՂ . / aqqa attracts neither personal pronouns (direct and indirect object pronouns) nor orientation particles to a preverbal position.

ԾԾԻՎ .ԵՂ . ՏԱԼԾ .Ը ԾՈՒ. /  
ssny aqqa iwca as t. “I know that he has given it to him.”

The declarative noun phrase may obtain without an introducing morpheme:

ՏԵՓՈՔ ՏՓՈԾ. / idhr ihrc.	“He looks sick.”
ԻՒԿ ՏԱԼՈ. / nniy idda.	“I thought he went.”

### c. The morpheme .Ա / ad

- .Ա / ad is invariable and appears at the beginning of a noun clause:

ԻՒԿ .Ը .Ա ՏԱՐՄԱԿ + ՏԱՐՄԱԿ. /  
nniy as ad iżm taggurt. “I told him to open the door.”

- It has a modal value and expresses different semantic nuances such as contingency, injunction and conviction depending on the meaning of the verb of the main clause:

XX“ΛΙ .Λ .CGKΙ. / gg <sup>w</sup> dn ad ackn.	“They are afraid to get lost.”
ΟΣΨ .Λ ΗΛΩΙ. / riy ad edun	“I want them to go.”
ΣΙΣ .Θ .Λ ΣΩΧΟ ! / ini as ad yugur	“Tell him to leave.”
ΣΘΘΙ .Λ ΣΩΞ. / issn ad yari	“He knows how to write.”
ΣΖΖΙ .Λ ΛΛΩΙ. / iqqan ad ddun	“It is necessary for them to go.”

- .Λ / ad is, more often than not, followed by a verb in the aorist form; the imperfective form is also frequently encountered:

ΣΧΘΘ .Λ ΣΗΛΛΑ : Λ.Ο Θ.Θ.Θ./ ixss ad ittddu dar babas.	“It is necessary for him to always visit his father.”
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- The use of .Λ / ad is obligatory:

ΣΘΘΙ .Λ ΣΘ.ΛΜΘ Θ +C.ΣΣΥΗ. / issn ad isawl s tmaziyt.	“He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh.”
* ΣΘΘΙ ΣΘ.ΛΜΘ +C.ΣΣΥΗ. / * issn isawl s tmaziyt.	“He knows how to speak (in) Amazigh.”

The second example is ungrammatical due to the absence of .Λ / ad as a subordinator that introduces the noun clause.

- Not unlike the subordinator ΣΘ / is, .Λ / ad attracts orientation particles as well as personal pronouns that function as verb objects:

ΣΙΣ Σ ΛΣΣΕ .Λ .ΘΙ ΣΩΣ  
+CΙΣ+ ! ini i hmmu ad asn  
yuc ttmnyat

“Tell Hemmou to give them the money!”

## 2.2. Verbs that introduce noun clauses

A verb, belonging to this category, takes a noun clause as its complement.

- Declarative noun clauses introduced by ΣΘ / is and ΣΖΖ . / aqqa

The verbs, under this category, denote an assertion (**ΣΙΣ** / ini “to say”, **ΘΘΙ** / **ΣΙΘΣΙ** // ssn / isin “to know” ...), perception (**✳Q** / **ZR**, **ΗΗΩ** / **ELU** “to see”, **ΟΛΟΣ** / annay, **ΘΕΛΖΖΗ** / smaqql, **Q.Η.** / **ΤΑΕΑ** “to watch”, **ΟΛΩΘ** / **ΟΛΕΣΘ** // rwus / rwis, **ΕΦΩ** / **ΔΗΡ** “to appear”, **ΘΗΗ** / **SLL**, **ΘΞΗΛ** / **SFLD**, **ΘΘΥΛ** / **SSYD** “to hear”, **ΣΗ** / **ML** “to show”), an opinion (**Ψ.Η.** / **YAL** “to believe”), cognition (**ΤΤΩ** / **TTU** “to forget”) and doubt (**ΚΚΚΩ** / **ΚΚΚ.** // **CKKU** / **CKKA** “to doubt”), among other values.

- **Interrogative noun clauses**

The verbs that introduce interrogative noun clauses are verbs that express or imply a question. Of prime importance among these verbs, there is **ΘΖΘ.** / **SQSA** “ask”, **✳Q** / **ZR**, **ΗΗΩ** / **ELU** and **ΘΕΛΖΖΗ** / **smaqql** “to see”.

- **Modal noun clauses with **◦Λ** / ad**

The verbs of the main clause generally express an action of virtual nature (**ΣΟΣ** / **IRI** “to want”), a future action (**Ζ.ΛΗΗ** / **Qawl** “to promise”, **ΕΣΙ** / **DMN** “to guarantee”), a feeling (**ΧΧ“Λ** / **GG<sup>w</sup>D**, **ΣΚΘΩΣΕ** / **IKSUQ** “to fear, to be scared”) or an obligation (**ΣΧΘΘ** / **IXSS**, **ΣΗΘΩΚΚ** / **IFUKK**, **ΣΗ.Μ.ΣΛ** / **ILAZM**, **ΣΖΖ.Λ** / **IQQAN** “to be necessary”).

### **2.3. The grammatical function of a noun clause**

More often than not, noun clauses assume the function of a direct object of the verb of the main clause. They might also function as subjects or noun complements.

- **Subject function:** This function is met by a number of verbs that are conjugated in the third singular person and that could be qualified as impersonal verbs.

<b>ΣΟΛ.Θ ΣΘ ΣQΣΣ.</b> / irwas is irzm.	“He seems to be ill.”
<b>ΣΧΘΘ .Λ ΣΚΩΣ ΣΧΟ ΙΙΘ.</b> / ixss ad ikrz igr nns.	“He has to till his field.”
<b>ΣΗ.Μ.ΣΛ .Λ Σ.ΘΙ ΣΛΟΣΣΙ Σ Θ.Θ.Θ.</b> / <b>ilazm ad yazn idrimn i babas.</b>	“He has to send the money to his father.”

- **Noun complement function:** very few nouns accept the noun clause to be their complement.

<b>ΣԱՀԱ և Խ.Թ.Օ ՀԾ ՀՈԼԱ Ը.ՀԻԱ.</b> iwiy d laxbar is irwl muhnd.	“I have come to know that Muhnd has fled.”
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### 3. Topicalized sentences

A topicalized sentence is characterised by highlighting or emphasising one of the constituents of the sentence through a whole range of appropriate syntactic processes. Topicalization obtains by the movement of the topicalized element to the beginning of a sentence coupled with the use of the topicalizing morpheme **◦Λ / ad** or **◦ſ / ay** “it is ... that / which”. These morphemes follow immediately the highlighted element.

#### 3.1. Topicalization morphemes

The topicalization morphemes are **◦Λ / ad**, **◦ſ / ay** and **Σ / i**. When adjacent to some vowels, **◦ſ / ay** may exhibit some phonetic alterations. **◦Λ / ad**, **◦ſ / ay** and **Σ / i** have the same features and are employed in the same context, in the sense that they follow immediately the topicalized constituent. Among their most prominent attributes, we may well mention:

- **◦Λ / ad**, **◦ſ / ay** and **Σ / i** are invariable. Regardless of the gender and number of the topicalized element, they keep the same form:

<b>◦Օ.Խ.◦Ա. Հ ՀՀԿՎԻ.</b> / argaz ad iffyn.	“(He is) the man who got out.”
<b>◦Օ.Խ.◦Տ. Հ ՀՀԿՎԻ.</b> / argazn ay iffyn.	“(They are) the men who got out.”
<b>†ՀՀԿՎ.◦Օ.Տ. Հ ՀՀԿՎԻ.</b> / timyarin i iffyn..	“(They are) the women who got out.”

However, they may undergo some phonetic modifications. **◦Λ / ad**, for instance, is realised as **◦ / a** (reduced form) before a vowel.

<b>◦Ե.Հ.◦Ա. Հ ՀՀԿ.</b> / adil ad icca. [adil ay icca]	“It is grapes that he ate.”
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As for **◦ſ / ay**, it is pronounced **◦.Խ / ag**, **◦.Հ.Խ / ig** or **◦.Տ.Խ / ayg** before a verb that is conjugated in the third masculine singular person (i.e. the verb is introduced by the inflectional marker **Σ- / i-**), or before a verb in the participial form.

- Not unlike preverbal particles or interrogative and relative pronouns, οΛ / ad, οΣ / ay and Σ / i attract both the direct / indirect object personal pronouns of the verb and the space orientation particles to a preverbal position:

ΣΗΚ。Θ。ΙΙΣΧ。 / ifka as ajjig	“He gave her a flower.”
•ΙΙΣΧ。Λ。Θ ΣΗΚ。 / ajjig ad as ifka	“It is a flower that he gave her.”
ΣΘ。Λ ΚΣ :ΙΛΣΟ。 / yusa d zi ujdir	“He came back from Ajdir.”
•ΙΛΣΟ。Σ ΚΣ Λ ΣΘ。 / ajdir ay zi d yusa	“It is from Ajdir that he came.”

### **3.2. Topicalized constituents**

To the exception of verbs, all the elements of a sentence can be topicalized by means of  $\circ\Lambda$  / ad,  $\circ\zeta$  / ay and  $\xi$  / i.

### *a. Topicalization of the subject*

When the topicalized element is a subject, the verb appears in the participial form specified by the addition of the discontinuous inflectional marker **Σ** ... | / i ... n to the verb, hence the forms **ΣΘΥ** / isyan “having bought” and **ΣΙΝ** / innan “having told” in the two examples mentioned above. If the topicalized constituent has a function other than a subject, the verb appears in a conjugated form (with agreement markers).

#### **b. Topicalization of the direct object**

• <b>ΣΣΣΘ</b> .Σ ΣΘΥ .ΛΕΕ : Σ ΕΞΕΣΘ. / ayyis ay isya hmmu i memmis.	“It is a horse that Hemmou bought for his son.”
• <b>ΛΗΣΘ</b> .Λ ΗΚΩΙ Σ : ΙΗΕΛ .Λ . / adlis ad fkan i unlmad a.	“It is a book that they gave to this pupil.”

#### **c. Topicalization of the indirect object**

Two scenarios are observed when the topicalized constituent is an indirect object:

- Movement of the prepositional phrase to the beginning of the sentence (dative preposition and its object) followed by a topicalization morpheme and the relative pronoun **ΕΣ** / mi or **ΞΕΣ** / umi “to whom”:

ΣΘΥ .ΛΕΕ : ΣΣΣΘ Σ ΕΞΕΣΘ. / isya hmmu ayyis i memmis.	“Hemmou bought a horse for his son.”
Σ ΕΞΕΣΘ .Σ ΕΣ ΣΘΥ .ΛΕΕ : ΣΣΣΘ. / i memmis ay mi isya hmmu ayyis.	“It is for his son that Hemmou bought a horse.”
Σ ΛΑΙΟ ΣΙΘ Σ : ΕΣ ΞΠΕ .ΤΞΘΟ . / i wadjar ins i umi iwca tisura.	“It is to his neighbour that he gave the keys.”

- Movement of the indirect object without the preposition **Σ** / i “to” that precedes it followed by the topicalization morpheme **ΕΣ** / mi or **ΞΕΣ** / umi “to whom”:

ΣΘΥ .ΞΟΧ .Λ .ΣΣΣΘ Σ ΕΞΕΣΘ. / isya urgaz ad ayyis i memmis.	“This man bought a horse for his son.”
Σ ΕΞΕΣΘ .Λ ΕΣ ΣΘΥ .ΞΟΧ .Λ . .ΣΣΣΘ / memmis ad mi isya urgaz ad ayyis.	“It is for his son that this man bought a horse.”
Σ ΕΞΕΣΘ .Σ ΕΣ ΣΘΥ .ΞΟΧ .Λ . .ΣΣΣΘ / memmis ay mi isya urgaz ad ayyis.	“It is for his son that this man bought a horse.”

*d. Topicalization of the object of a preposition*

The point of interest here is the object of a preposition other than Σ / i “to”, such as ΥΟ / yr, Λ.Ο / dar, Θ / s, .Χ / ag and ΧΧ / zg, among others (*cf.* 6.1). The object of a preposition, not unlike the indirect object, appears at the beginning of the sentence preceded by the preposition and followed by a topicalization morpheme along with the rest of the sentence.

◎ :*Q: .s + ΣΖΖΣΘ. / s użru ay t iqqis.	“It is with a stone that he hit him.”
◦X◦Μ+◦Θ◦ .s ΞΟ◦Λ. / ag ultmas ay irah.	“It is with his sister that he went.”
X +◦ΛΣΙ◦ .Λ X ΞΛΨΙ. / g tmdint ad g zdyn.	“It is in the city that they live.”
Λ◦Ο Θ◦Θ◦ .Λ Θ ΣΛΛ◦ . / dar babas ad s idda.	“It is to his father’s home that he went.”

The object of a preposition may well surface at the beginning of a sentence followed by a topicalization morpheme and the preposition.

◦.እ◦.እ◦.እ◦ + ፅእግ◦. / afus ay s t ikks.	“It is with his hand that he removed it.”
Theta.Θ◦.Theta.Λ◦.Λ◦.O◦.ξΛΛ◦. / babas ad dar idda..	“It is to his father’s home that he went.”
◦.ኛ◦.Theta.ξ◦.Ψ◦.O◦.ξΛΛΞ◦. / aytmas i yur iqqim.	“It is in his brothers’ house that he stays.”

#### *e. Topicalization of other constituents*

In addition to the already treated elements that fill a grammatical function in the sentence, a number of other constituents may equally be topicalized, such as quality nouns, adverbs and noun clauses.

- Topicalization of quality nouns

﴿أَنْتَمْ﴾ .﴿أَنْتَ﴾ .﴿أَنْتَ﴾ .﴿أَنْتَ﴾ . / azgg <sup>w</sup> ay ay iga ueban n faqma.	“Red are the clothes of Fadma.”
﴿أَنْتَمْ﴾ .﴿أَنْتَ﴾ .﴿أَنْتَ﴾ .﴿أَنْتَ﴾ . / amllal ad iga ayyis n hmmu.	“White is Hemmou’s horse.”

and are followed by the morpheme **▫Λ** / ad or **▫Σ** / ay to serve topicalization ends.

- Topicalization of adverbs

<b>ΣΕΗΙ.Ε</b> <b>▫Σ</b> <b>+ΘԿ.</b> <b>Է:Ը.</b> <b>Ժ.Հ.Օ.</b> / iğnnat ay tsya tuka asafar.	“It is yesterday that Toucha bought the drugs.”
<b>ΣԵՐ.Ը</b> <b>▫Λ</b> <b>Λ</b> <b>Հ:ԸՇ.</b> <b>ՏԵԱԾ.</b> / idgam ad d yucka yiws.	“It is yesterday that his / her son came.”
<b>ՄԵՐԿ</b> <b>▫Σ</b> <b>+ԻՒԿ.</b> / zikk ay tffy.	It is early in the morning when she went out.”

- Topicalization of noun clauses

The examples below show how a noun clause can be highlighted:

<b>▫Λ</b> <b>Ժ.Օ</b> <b>Տ.Օ</b> <b>Σ+Տ.Ժ</b> <b>Օ.Տ.</b> <b>▫Σ</b> <b>Օ.</b> <b>ՀԵԹ.Ը.</b> / ad as tarit tabrat ay ira ibbam. “That you write a letter to him is what your father wants.”
<b>▫Λ</b> <b>Տ:Ը</b> <b>Հ:Ը</b> <b>ՑՈՒՑ</b> <b>Օ</b> <b>Տ:Ը</b> <b>Ե.Ը.</b> <b>Ք</b> <b>▫Λ</b> <b>Տ.Օ</b> <b>Հ.ԵԸ.</b> / ad tucd idlisi n i umhçar ad tra fađma. “That you give the books to the pupil is what Fadma wants.”

### 3.3. The use of **Λ** / **d** before the topicalized constituent

In a topicalized structure, the topicalized noun (or its equivalent) may well be preceded by the predication morpheme **Λ** / **d** “it is”. When such a scenario holds, the addition of the predication morpheme **Λ** / **d** yields the following structure (**Λ**) / (**d**) ... **▫Λ** / ad or **▫Σ** / ay ...:

<b>(Λ)</b> <b>ԴԵՎ.Տ</b> <b>▫Σ</b> <b>Հ.Օ.</b> <b>Հ:ԼԻԶ.Օ.</b> / (d) tmnyat ay ira uhnjir.	“Money is what the child needs.”
<b>(Λ)</b> <b>ԱԽԸ</b> <b>▫Σ</b> <b>Հ.Օ.</b> <b>Լ</b> <b>Դ.Ժ</b> <b>Օ.Տ.</b> / (d) eli i iyran tabrat.	“It is Ali who read the letter.”
<b>(Λ)</b> <b>ԱԶԳ</b> <b>▫Հ</b> <b>Հ.Օ.</b> <b>Հ.Օ</b> <b>Հ.Վ.Լ.</b> / (d) azgg“ay ad iga ugtil.	“Red is the mat.”

A noun clause can be topicalized by **Λ** / **d**:

<b>Λ</b> <b>Հ.Օ</b> <b>Ժ.Օ</b> <b>Տ.Հ.Կ.</b> <b>Տ:Ը</b> <b>Կ.Ը.</b> / d is as ifka tumžin. “It is the fact that he gave her barley.”
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Predicator  $\wedge$  / d becomes mandatory after the negator  $:O$  / ur “not” and the interrogative morphemes  $\xi\Theta$  / is and  $\sqcap.$  / ma “is he / she / it, are we / you / they?” when the latters precede a topicalized nominal (or its variant) or a noun clause:

$:O \wedge \Theta.\Theta.. \wedge \xi:\Theta\xi.$ / ur d baba ay d yusin.	“It is not my father who came.”
$\xi\Theta \wedge \text{I}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{t}.. \xi \wedge \xi:\Theta\xi ?$ / is d ntta i d yusin ?	“Is it he who came?”
$\sqcap.. \wedge \text{I}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{t}.. \sqcap \xi\text{y}\text{o}.\text{i}\ddot{\text{t}}.. \Theta\text{o}.\text{t}.$ / ma d ntta ad iyran tabrat ?	“”Is it he who read the letter?”
$:O \wedge \xi\Theta \xi\text{C}\text{C}\xi .. \Theta+\text{C}\xi.$ / ur d is icci astci.	“It is not the fact that he ate the poison.”

#### 4. Adverbial clauses

Another category of complex sentences includes an independent main clause and a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction of subordination. These subordinate clauses are termed adverbial clauses. Counter to a noun clause or a relative clause, an adverbial clause cannot be substituted by a noun phrase nor modify it. It can, nonetheless, replace adverbial prepositional phrases. Its role is to show the conditions in which the verb action has been carried out.

Each subordinator that introduces an adverbial clause expresses a specific semantic value. Depending on the semantic values they imply, adverbial clauses are divided into a number of categories: adverbial clauses of time, cause, goal, opposition, condition, consequence, comparision and manner.

$\text{M.. I}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{t}.. \text{**..} \wedge \text{x}\text{:}\sqcap.. \wedge \text{IMKL} \text{ X}\text{Z}\text{KK}.$ / la ntazzal huma ad nlkm zikk. “We are hurrying up to arrive early.”
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In the example above, it is the subordinator  $\text{x}\text{:}\sqcap..$  / huma “so as to, so that” that introduces the subordinate clause  $\wedge \text{IMKL} \text{ X}\text{Z}\text{KK}$  / ad nlkm zik in the main clause  $\text{M.. I}\ddot{\text{t}}\text{t}.. \text{**..} /$  la ntazzal. In semantic terms, the central thrust of an adverbial clause is to modify the action expressed by the verb of the main clause.

From a morphological standpoint, subordinators bifurcate into two categories: simple subordinate conjunctions which are introduced by single

subordinating conjunctions, like **எ.கோ** / maca “but”, **கு** / ku “as long as”, **ஏ.ஓ** / **யா** “as soon as”, **இப்** / **இய்** “if, only”, **.க்கோ** / acku “because” and **ஃ.அ** / fad “so as to” among others, and complex subordinate conjunctions, consisting of more than one element, like **ஓ கிளி எ.** / **ஸ் ஞினி மா** “after ...” and **.அ : ஒ** **எ.கீலி [உரிமில்]** / **அட உரிமில்** [awrimil] “it is possible that, eventually”.

Traditionally, the morphemes of subordination are classified along logical categories: cause, goal, hypothesis, time, ... etc. In some contexts, the nuances between many semantic values are not easily determined; the same subordinator may well have more than one semantic value.

Furthermore, some subordinators are used with one verbal theme only while others freely tolerate being followed by verbs conjugated in different themes. **.அ** / ad, for instance, does not set any restriction on the theme of the verb that follows it; this means that the verb that comes after **.அ** / ad can surface in the aorist theme as much as it can surface in the perfective and imperfective themes.

At the syntactic level, some subordinating conjunctions trigger the attraction of affixal pronouns (DO and IO) and space orientation particles (**அ** / d and **இ** / n) to a preverbal position.

<b>எ.கீலி அ : ஓ.கு கே.தூ.ஒ.தே க.கீ.</b> / mixf d usiy isqrqb xafi.	“As soon as I arrived, He knocked at the door.”
<b>எ.தூ.ஒ.கீலி அ : கோ.இ.கே.ஒ.இ.தே.</b> / isusm llig as ucan amur nns.	“He kept quiet when they gave him his share.”
<b>பு.கு கீ.கீ + ம.கீ.கு, த.தூ.கு எ.அ.கீ.ம.ஒ.</b> / yik lli t zriy, ssny ma ad illan.	“As soon as I saw him, I knew what happened.”

In the examples presented above, the attraction of the orientation particle **அ** / d and the pronouns **.அ +** / as t (DO and IO) to a preverbal position is due to the presence of the morphemes **எ.கீலி** / mixf “as soon as”, **கீலி** / llig “when” and **பு.கு** (**கு கீ.கீ**) / yik lli (mk lli) “as soon as”.

#### 4.1. Adverb clauses of time

This category of clauses includes the adverb clauses introduced by conjunctions that convey different temporal shades of meaning. In general terms, the action expressed by the verb of the main clause takes place before, during or after the action of the subordinate clause, reflecting, thereby, the

putative relationship of simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority observed between the main and the subordinate clauses.

#### *a. Relationship of simultaneity*

We speak of simultaneity when the two actions expressed by the verbs of the two clauses, the main and the subordinate, take place at the same time. The morphemes expressing this value are:

ঃংৰ, ০.ାଲ୍ଲୋସ, ০.ତୋ କ୍ଷ / umi, adday, ass mi	“when.”
କ୍ଷୋ, କ୍ଷୋଳ / ku, kud	“as long as, while”
କ୍ଷୋଲା / maଳା	“as”
କ୍ଷୋଲିଲୋ / kudnna	“when, everytime”
କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷ (କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷ) / mixf (mix)	“when, while, as soon as”
କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷ / llig	“when”
କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷୋ // sgma, sgg <sup>w</sup> is	“since”

The morphemes ঃংৰ / umi, ০.ତୋ କ୍ଷ / ass mi, କ୍ଷୋଲିଲୋ / kudnna, କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷ / mixf (mix) and କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷ (କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷ) / llig (lliy) are used not only with the perfective and imperfective themes but also with the aorist theme if the verb is preceded by ০.ା / ad (or one of its variants). With the morphemes କ୍ଷୋ / କ୍ଷୋଲ / ku / kud, the verbs of the main and subordinate clauses obtain in the imperfective form. With କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷୋ / sgma, କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷୋ // sgg<sup>w</sup>is, the verb takes the perfective form. As for ০.ାଲ୍ଲୋସ / adday, the verb that follows this conjunction is always conjugated in the aorist form.

০.ା ଓ ০.ାଲ୍ଲୋସ ৃକ୍ଷ କ୍ଷୋ ଯା ଦ୍ୟୋ. / ad raହ୍ୟ umi ya d yas.	“I will go as soon as he arrives.”
ଲାଲ୍ଲୋସ ৃକ୍ଷ କ୍ଷୋଲିଲୋ. / ddiy umi d ilkm.	“I went when he arrived.”
କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷ କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷୋ. / ggury umi d ittas.	“I (usually) leave when he arrives.”
କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷ କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷୋ. / lliy ar zzigizn ar sawaln.	“While walking, they are speaking.”
କ୍ଷୋଲିଲୋ କ୍ଷୋଲିଲୋ. / kudnna idda tmunt dids.	“When he leaves, you will keep him company.”
କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷୋ କ୍ଷୋକ୍ଷକ୍ଷୋ. / ass mi ira ad iddu, uc as ttmnyat.	“The day when he decides to leave, give him the money.”

କୁ ଶିତୋ ଶିରାକୁ ଥିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା କୁ ବିନ୍ଦୁ ପାହିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା	“As the unfortunate cries, God increases his suffering.”
କୁ ମାହି ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା କୁ ମାହି ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା	“Give him the money as long as he is here.”
କୁ ମାହି ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା କୁ ମାହି ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା	“When summer arrives, people celebrate marriage ceremonies.”
କୁ ମାହି ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା କୁ ମାହି ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା ଦେଖିଲା	“She has been sleeping since she arrived.”

### b. Relationship of anteriority

Another category of subordinate clauses introduced by specific conjunctions conveys the semantic value of anteriority. When a conjunction that expresses anteriority is used in such clauses, the action of the verb of the subordinate clause takes place before the action of the verb of the main clause. The morphemes expressing anteriority are set out as follows:

:୦ + / ur ta	“before”
ଅ.ଫ୍ ଏଁ / dat ma	“before”
ଏ.କାଳ / mahd	“before”
ଯୁ.୦ / କୁ.୦ // ଯାସ / xas	“as soon as”
ଯୁୟୁ / yir	“as soon as”

The morphemes presented above are used with different verbal themes. They are used with the aorist if the verb is preceded by ଅ / ad (or its variant ଯୁ / ya); they are also used with the perfective and imperfective themes.

ଯୁ.୦ ଅ ଥାଲା, ଅ.ଅ ଥାଲା ଥାଲା ଥାଲା ଯାସ ଆଦିବ୍ଦ, ରାଦ ଦିଲ୍ ଶ୍ଶିଵ୍ଲୀ.	“As soon as he stops walking, I will talk to him.”
ଯୁ.୦ ଥାଲା, ଥାଲା ଥାଲା ଥାଲା ଥାଲା ଯାସ ଆଦିବ୍ଦ, ଶ୍ଶିଵ୍ଲୀ ଅକିଦ୍ଦ.	“As soon as he stopped walking, I talked to him.”
ଯୁ.୦ ଅ ଥାଲା, ଅ.ଅ ଥାଲା ଥାଲା ଥାଲା ଯାସ ଆଦିବ୍ଦ, ଶ୍ଶିଵ୍ଲୀ ଅକିଦ୍ଦ.	“As soon as he arrives, they serve him milk.”

ԿՅՕ ՇՈ ԸԵԽԽԾ.Օ, ՔՄԸԸ Ը ԸԵԽԱԼ. / yir ufan amxxar, r̄zmn i muhnd.	“As soon as they arrested the thief, they set Muhnd free.”
ՇՈ Ր ԸԵԽԽԾ.Օ ՔՄԸԸ Ը ԸԵԽԱԼ. / ufan ka amxxar r̄zmn i muhnd.	“As soon as they arrested the thief, they set Muhnd free.”
ՏՀԻԿՎ ԸԵ ՇՈ Ն Ա ՇՈ ՑԵՏ ՒՄԵՈ. / iffy masin ur ta d tucki tlila.	“Massin got out before Tilila came (here).”
ԾՈՅՆՈ Ը ԽԸԸ ԸԵ ՇՈ Ն Ա ՇՈ ՑԵՏ ՒՄԵՈ. / ssiwl i hmmu maḥd ur igi aznnir.	“Speak to Hemmou before he does something foolish.”
ՏՀԻԿՎ Ն Ա ՇՈ Կ Ա Վ Ը Ա Վ Թ Օ Շ Օ. / iffy dat ma iddu babas.	“He went out before his father leaves.”

### c. Relationship of posteriority

The morphemes of subordination that express the relationship of posteriority between the main and subordinate clauses are:

ՀՀԵԽԾՕ Ը. / ԱՀՀԵԽԾՕ Ը. / ffir ma / dffir ma	“after”
ԾԱ ԽԵԽԾՕ Ը. / sg nnif ma	“after”
ԿՅԱԼԻ. / kudnna	“when, after”

These morphemes are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by the preverbal particle Ն / ad (or one of its variants); they are also used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

Ն Ա Վ Ը ՀՀԵԽԾՕ Ը. Կ Ա Տ Ը Ե Ծ.Օ. / ad ddun ffir ma ya afn iqarıqdn.	“They will leave when they find the money.”
Ա Վ Ը ՀՀԵԽԾՕ Ը. ՇՈ Ը Ե Ծ.Օ. / ddan ffir ma ufan iqarıqdn.	“They went after they had found the money.”
Ն Ա Վ Ը ՀՀԵԽԾ ԿՅԱԼԻ. ՏԵՎԵ ՇԻՄ.Օ. / ad nffy kudnna yiwi unzar.	“We will go out once it stops raining.”
Օ Ա Տ Ը Ե Ծ.Օ. Ն Ա Վ Ը ՀՀԵԽԾ ԿՅԱԼԻ. Օ Ա Վ Ը ՀՀԵԽԾ.Օ. / rad yawi ma ad issa kudnna rad d yack.	“He will bring something to drink when he comes.”
ՒՀԻԿՎ ՀԵԽԾ.Օ ԾԱ ԽԵԽԾՕ Ը Ե Ծ.Օ. ՇԻՄ.Օ. / tffy faṭima sg nnif ma ign urba.	“Fatima got out after the child had slept.”

## 4.2. Adverb clauses of purpose

These adverb clauses are introduced by morphemes that express the goal of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. The subordinators used to convey this meaning are: **እር** / **እር** / hma (huma), **ተሸ** / tafa, **ወ** / aka, **ሕል** / fad and **በ** / bac “so as to, so that”. They are used only with verbs conjugated in the aorist form (if preceded by **አ** / ad or one of its variants) or in the imperfective form.

<b>ስርዕሉዎች ተረም እር ዓለም እና የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ</b> የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ	“Tell him to take his sister to the doctor.”
<b>ስርዕሉዎች ተረም ተሸ ዓለም የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ</b> የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ	“Tell him not to go at night !”
<b>ወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ</b> የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ	“They gave him his share so that he keeps quiet.”
<b>ይወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ</b> የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ	“He asked them to gather their things.”

## 4.3. Adverb clauses of cause

Adverb clauses of cause are introduced by conjunctions expressing the reason behind the action undertaken by the verb of the main clause. The conjunctions that serve this function are: **ይንደ** / minzi, **ወክ** / acku, **፡ደ** / umi and **በ** / sg ma “because”. These conjunctions are employed with verbs in the aorist form preceded by the preverbal particle **አ** / ad (or one of its variants); they are also used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms.

<b>ይንደሆነ ተረም ተረም ዓለም የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ</b> የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ	“I am staying at home because guests will visit me.”
<b>ይንደሆነ ተረም ተረም ዓለም የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ</b> የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ	“He stayed at home because he was ill.”
<b>ይንደሆነ ተረም ተረም ዓለም የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ</b> የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ የወቅሁ	“I am staying at home because guests will visit me.”

:O ΣΛΛΞ Θ +ΕΥΟ。◦CK: ΣΣΛΛΗ.
ur iddi s tmyra acku yiwhl. “He did not go to the marriage ceremony because he was ill.”
◦ΛΞ◦ * ◦Q◦ CK:◦ O◦ ΥΣΙΙ◦ Σ+ΣΜΞ◦ :ΟΣΣΞΕ.</td
awi ażnnaż acku ar yinn ittili uşmmid. “Take the burnous because it is cold there.”
:O +ΚΗΞΥ ΣΕΙΙ◦ Ε◦ :ΣΞ Λ◦ ΣΘ +ΣΣΘΘΞ.
ur tħfiy iđnnaṭ umi days timssi. “She did not go out yesterday because she had a fever.”
+ΛΟΖ◦ ΘΞ◦ :O◦ Θ◦ :CΣΙ◦ Σ:O◦ ΙΙΘ.
thrq sg ma ur as ucin amur nns. “She is unhappy because they did not give her her share.”

The morpheme **ΛΛΞ** / llig “because” may also be used to express causality:

ΣΖΘΗΛΛΞ◦ .Θ◦ Σ:Σ◦ ΣΘΘ◦ .Θ◦ +ΣΞΣΣΞ.
iqlb llig as yuca ibbas tigmmi. “He accepted because his father gave him the house.”

#### 4.4. Adverb clauses expressing concession and opposition

Adverb clauses of concession and opposition introduce an action that opposes the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. These clauses are introduced by a whole range of conjunctions; some of which are set out below:

- Λ◦ ΞΞ◦ / waxxa, ◦Λ◦ Ζ◦ / mqbar “even if, despite, in spite of”. These conjunctions are used with verbs conjugated in the perfective and imperfective forms as well as with verbs in the aorist form if they are preceded by the particle **◦Λ** / ad:

◦Λ◦ ΛΛ:Υ◦ ΞΣΕΕ◦ ◦Λ◦ ΞΞ◦ .◦Λ◦ ΣΣΙΣ◦ :ΛΞΗ◦ . / ad dduy ag iṭu waxxa ad yili uđfi. “I will go with Itto even if there is snow.”
ΛΛΞΥ◦ Υ:Ο◦ ΣΕΙ◦ . / ddiy yurs waxxa uđny. “I went to see him although I was ill.”
◦Λ◦ Ζ◦ .◦Θ◦ Σ◦ :◦Λ◦ Λ◦ Σ◦ Θ◦ Υ◦ Λ◦ . / mqbar as tssawalt, ur da issyad. “Even if you talk to him, he will not listen.”

- **እርሱ / maca, እርሱ / macc, ንዑስ / imil** “but”. They are used with all verbal themes.

ΣΛΛ。ԿՕ ՏԿՕԸ ԵԸ ։Օ ։Ա ՏԼԼ։ԿՈ ՀԵԸ։ /  
idda yr iyrm maca ur ad iddu yur hemmu.  
“He went to the village but he is not going to pay Hemmou a visit.”

ԱԼՏԿԱ ԱԸ ՕԸ ԵԸ ։Օ + ՏԼԼ ՅԵԸ։ /  
ddiy dars maca ur t inn uffiy.  
“I went to see him but I did not find him.”

Ա。ՏԻՔԱԿ ԿՕ ՏԿՕԸ ԵԸ ։Օ Ա。ՏԻՔԱԼ ԿՈ ՀԵԸ։ /  
da itraqh yr iyrm macc ur da ittdhu yurs.  
“He usually goes to the village but he does not pay him a visit.”

ՏԾԱ ։ԱՏՏԿԱ ՏԿԵՄ ՅԿՈՒ ։Ը + .  
isya ayyis imil ukrn as t.  
“He bought a horse but they stole it from him.”

#### **4.5. Adverb clauses of condition**

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of condition convey a hypothesis or condition on which the implementation of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause depends. Some conjunctions filling this function are used with verbs in the aorist form provided these verbs are preceded by **▫Α / ad** (or one of its variants); the same conjunctions are also used with verbs in the perfective or imperfective forms. A whole range of conjunctive morphemes are laid out below:

-**ମା** (ମା) / mala (mla), **ମ୍ରି** (ମ୍ରି) / mri (mr), **ଇଯ** (ଇଯ) / ig (iy), **ରକ୍ତ** (ରକ୍ତ) / mk (km), **ମୁଦ** / mud, **ମ୍ତା** / mta “if”

ԸՆԴ. ՀԱՂ. ԿՈ Թ.Թ.Թ .Ա ՏԵՇ ԸՆԻՒ. /  
mala idda yr babas ad kis muny.  
“If he had gone to see his father, I would have gone with him.”

The morphemes **ΣΧ** (**ΣΗ**) / ig (iy) and **ΣΚ** (**ΚΣ**) / mk (km) convey a condition in the future, whereas **ΣΛ** / mud and **ΣΤ** / mta express a hypothesis in the past:

“**କେବୁ ଯାଏବୁ କିମ୍ବା କିମ୍ବା ଯାଏବୁ କିମ୍ବା** ?

ΣΥ + Σ\*Q. ΣΗΚ 。ΘΙ + ΣΘ:Ο. /

iy tn izra ifk asn tisura.

“If he sees them, that he gives them the keys.”

Ε:Λ 。Θ + ΘΘΣΛΗΛ 。ΘΘΗ.Ε, :Ο Λ 。Λ ΣΧ 。Σ. /

mud as tssiwl assnnaṭ, ur d ad ig aya.

“If you had spoken to him yesterday, He would not have done this.”

Ε+。+ \*QΣΥ, :Ο Ο.Λ ΛΛ:Ι Λ.ΟΘ. /

mta tn ȝriy, ur rad ddun dars.

“If I had seen them, they would not have visited him.”

When the morphemes of condition are employed, the affixal personal pronouns of the verb and the orientation particles are moved to a preverbal position.

#### 4.6. Adverb clauses of consequence

The conjunctions that introduce the adverb clauses of consequence express a fact or action which is the real or possible consequence of the action expressed by the verb of the main clause. Paramount among the conjunctions that meet this end, there are: ο.Μ.ΕΣ / alami and ο.ΣΗΗΣΧ (ο.ΣΗΗΣΨ) / ayllig (aylliy) “until, till”. These conjunctions can be used with all verbal themes; however, when they are used with aorist verbs, they should be preceded by ο.Λ / ad.

†ΘΘΣΛΗ .ΕΕ.Θ ο.Μ.ΕΣ +ΠΧΗ.

tssiwl aṭṭaṣ alami twḥl.

“She talked a lot until she got tired.”

†Ο: †ΘΜΕΣ .ο.ΣΗΗΣΧ +ΠΧΗ.

tru tslyma ayllig twḥl.

“The baby has wept so much that she got tired.”

†CC. ο.ΣΗΗΣΧ +Χ:ΘΕ.

tcca ayllig tgusma.

“She ate so much that she got an indegestion.”

ο.Ο \*ΖΖΣΧΣΖΙ ο.ΣΗΗΣΨ ΖΕΣΙ.

ar zzigizn aylliy ḥmin.

“They have walked so much that they got tired.”

#### 4.7. Adverb clauses of comparison

The adverb clauses expressing comparison are introduced by conjunctions that exhibit a comparison between the facts and actions expressed in the main

clause and the facts and actions expressed in the subordinate clause. The morphemes responsible for this function are:  $\textcircled{E}$  ( $\textcircled{E}\xi$  /  $\textcircled{E}:\mathbb{X}$ ) / am (ami / amux) and  $\mathbb{X}:\mathbb{I}$  / zun “like, as”. They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by  $\textcircled{\Lambda}$  / ad as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

#### **4.8. Adverb clauses of manner**

This variety of adverbial clauses expresses the manner in which the verb of the main clause has been undertaken. The conjunctions used in the adverbial clauses of manner are identical to the conjunctions used in adverb clauses of comparison:  $\text{።}\text{ئ}$  ( $\text{።}\text{ئ}\text{x}$  /  $\text{።}\text{ئ}\text{:}\text{x}$ ) / am (ami / amux) and  $\text{*}\text{:l}$  / zun “like, as”. They are used with verbs in the aorist form preceded by  $\text{。}\Lambda$  / ad as much as they are used with verbs in the perfective and imperfective forms.

ΣΟΚΟ Χɔι Λ ΣΨ Ο.Λ ΣΧΙ. /  
iskr zun d iy rad ign.  
“He pretends he is going to sleep.”

ΣΧο ο.ΛΣ Ηο Σ+τ.ΜΧ.Η. /  
iga ami la ittazzal.  
“He pretends to be running.”

ΣΧο ο.ΛΣΧ ΣΕΕΘ. /  
iga amux itts.  
“He pretends being asleep.”

ΣΟΚΟ Χɔι ΣΣΕ:+. /  
iskr zun immut.  
“He plays dead.”

Manner may also be expressed by merely juxtaposing the main clause with the subordinate clause.

ተክክሬ ብዙር ተክክሬዎች / tffy ar ttazzal. “She went out running.”

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The central thrust of this book is to shed light on the grammatical rules of Amazigh. The originality of this work is reminiscent of the fact that it is a grammar of standard Moroccan Amazigh and not a grammar of one of the Amazigh varieties. It is, therefore, meant to offer a reference grammar to Standard Amazigh. Foremost among the principles taken into consideration in its preparation is the unity of the language, the preservation of Amazigh richness in terms of grammatical structures and tools as well as a rational planning of variation.

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ΣΧΟ ΘΙΤΤΟΘ οΛΩΝΟΙ Ι ΘΛΗΣΘ οΛ, οΛ ΣΘΘΟΘ  
ΣΝΙΘΧΙ Ι +Θ+ΗΟΣ+ +ΕοЖΣΥ+ ΝΗΟ ΣΕΕοИ ΕοΕΚ  
ΘΘΗΘΟΣΙ ΣΝΙΘΧΙ οΛ X +ΘΕΕοΘ+ Ι +Θ+ΗΟΣ+ ΣΕΘοΘΟΙ.  
+ΧΟ +ΙQQ8Ε+ οΛ +ΣΙ +ΕοЖΣΥ+ +ΕοΨΟΣΘΣ+  
ΣΕΘοΘΟΙ, 80 +ЖИС ΨοΘ Θ ΣII Ι ΗοΙοΗ Ι +ΕοЖΣΥ+,  
οΣΗΙο + +ΣЖИСΙ ЖΣ ΣΛΗΣΘΟΙ Ι +ΙQQ8Ε+ ΣΕЖΗΘΟ. ΣΚΗΝΗΣ  
+ХО ΣΟΙ 80Ι+Σ ΗΟ ΣХОΙ οΛ ΣοΗΕ +ΣЖΣ Ι Σο+  
+ΙQQ8Ε+ ΗΟ Ψ80 οθψ80 οХο+οΟ. Σ++ΣοКΘο Η X  
+Σ00ο ΗΘ ΕΗοΗ ΣЕИЖο οЕ +Σ00οИ Ι +Е8ΙΣ Ι  
+Θ+ΗΟΣ+ +ΕοЖΣΥ+ Λ ΘΛΕΕ8 Ι ΣЕоΘОΙ ΣИQоЕ 8ΗΟ  
+ΘЖКСЕУСИ ΗΘ.